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FBIS-SOV-87-212 CONTENTS *3 November 1987*

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Pact, NATO Representatives Meet in Vienna 1
'Question of Confidence' in U.S. Moves *[Soldatenko in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Oct]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

PRAVDA Review of Week's International Events *[Y. Grigoryev, 1 Nov]* 3
USSR Submits Draft Economic Resolution to UN 5
Maritime Expert on Malta Oceanic Conference *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Karpov Comments on Summit Prospects 8
Weinberger Reportedly Considers Resignation 8
Gorbachev Book Published in U.S.; Comments 8
Gorbachev Speech Available in Washington 9
U.S. Reaction to Shultz Moscow Trip Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 27 Oct]* 9
Ozerov Counters 'Disinformation' Attacks *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 30 Oct]* 10
U.S. Inspections, USSR 'Dignity' Discussed *[Grinshteyn, Kobysh in IZVESTIYA 24 Oct]* 12
U.S. To Send New Ships to Persian Gulf 13
Reagan Signs Order Banning Imports From Iran 13
Reagan Extends Sanctions Against Nicaragua 13
Kamentsev Receives U.S. Trade Official 13
Weapons Radiation Test Laboratory Operating 13
Soviet-Canadian Space Cooperation Meeting 14

China

Further Reportage on 13th CPC Congress 14
    Zhao Ziyang Congratulated 14
    Meets Press on Congress 14
    'Political Bureau' Elected 15
    Election Results Reported 16
    Reactions to CPC Report Noted *[PRAVDA 28 Oct]* 16
    Delegate on Foreign Trade Ties *[PRAVDA 30 Oct]* 16
Chinese Envoy Informed of Soviet-U.S. Talks 17

Northeast Asia

Japan's Takeshita Discusses Relations 17
Japan's Nakasone Welcomes News on Summit 17
Japanese-U.S. Maneuvers on Kyushu Island 17
Japanese Delegation Visits 22-30 Oct 17
DPRK Embassy Marks Kim Il-song Visit *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* 18
    More on Anniversary *[Pyongyang]* 18
DPRK Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 30 Oct]* 18
Tolstykh Receives DPRK Science Official *[PRAVDA 28 Oct]* 18
Science-Technology Accord Signed With DPRK 19
Peace Activist on Ties With DPRK Committee 19

Southeast Asia & Pacific

- Cambodia's Hun Sen Addresses Peace Proposals ... 19
  - Further on Hun Sen ... 20
- Commentary Welcomes Hun Sen-Sihanouk Meeting ... 20
- Soviet Ambassador to Thailand Reassigned *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* ... 21
- Laos' Sipaseut Leaves Moscow After Stopover *[IZVESTIYA 28 Oct]* ... 21
- Telegram Greets Tuvalu Independence Day *[IZVESTIYA 25 Oct]* ... 21
- U.S. Provoking Philippines to Save Bases *[Ovchinnikov in PRAVDA 28 Oct]* ... 22
- Aquino: Philippines Seeks 'Good Relations' ... 22

Near East & South Asia

- U.S. Frigate Fires on Iranian Boat 1 Nov ... 22
- UAE Worried By Size of U.S. Gulf Presence *[A. Stepanov in PRAVDA 1 Nov]* ... 22
- USSR Wants UN Fleet on Arab Summit Agenda *[Manama WAKH]* ... 23
- 'Arafat Praises Soviet Stance on Conference ... 23
- PLO Envoy, Vinogradov Meet in Moscow 29 Oct *[Baghdad Voice of PLO]* ... 23
- DRA Foreign Ministry Addresses Reconciliation ... 24
- Algerian-Soviet Cooperation Protocol Signed ... 24
- Moroccan Leftist Hails GOSR, CPSU Policies *[PRAVDA 28 Oct]* ... 25

Sub-Saharan Africa

- Mozambican Army Delegation Visits USSR *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Oct]* ... 25
- Frelimo Delegation Visits USSR 15-24 Oct *[PRAVDA 25 Oct]* ... 25

East Europe

- GDR's Honecker Ends Visit to Romania ... 26
- Honecker Visits Moscow, Receives Award ... 26
  - Addresses 2 Nov Rally *[East Berlin ADN]* ... 26
  - Awarded Order of Lenin *[East Berlin ADN]* ... 28
  - Gives Acceptance Speech *[East Berlin ADN]* ... 28
- Polish Sejm Session Discusses Economic Reform *[IZVESTIYA 25 Oct]* ... 28
  - Ends 2-Day Session *[PRAVDA 25 Oct]* ... 29
- CPSU Leaders Address PZPR Visitors *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* ... 29
- Kosovo Security Situation 'Has Worsened' *[PRAVDA 26 Oct]* ... 29
- Romania's Ceausescu Backs INF Agreement ... 30
- West Germany's Genscher Visits Albania 23 Oct *[IZVESTIYA 26 OCt]* ... 30

West Europe

- Moscow on USSR-Benelux Trade Session ... 30
- Gorbachev Book Published in Netherlands ... 31
- Soviet Officer Arrested for Espionage *[DPA]* ... 31
- West Germany 'Welcomes' Missile Ban Agreement ... 31
- Genscher Stresses Need for Missile Accord *[PRAVDA 26 Oct]* ... 31
- Zagladin To Take Part in FRG CP Events *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* ... 31
- More on Italian Peace Group in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 28 Oct]* ... 32
- Timber Industry Accord Signed With Finland *[IZVESTIYA 27 Oct]* ... 33
- Meeting Held on Marine Research in Artic Sea *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Oct]* ... 33
- Greece's Papandreou Interviewed on Disarmament *[IZVESTIYA 27 Oct]* ... 33
- Ambassador to Turkey Queried on Cyprus, Arms *[Istanbul MILLIYET 28 Oct]* ... 35

GOSR 70TH ANNIVERSARY

Gorbachev Speech to GOSR Meeting 38
TASS Reports Celebration Meeting 2 Nov 61
GOSR 'Festive Session' Continues 62
    Gromyko Addresses Session 62
    Marchuk Speech 63
Foreign Leaders Speak at Moscow Ceremony 65
    Jaruzelski Addresses Meeting *[PAP]* 65
    Zhivkov Speech 66
    Kadar Addresses Meeting *[MTI]* 67
    Husak Address *[Prague]* 69
    Koivisto Speech 70
    Ortega Speech 71

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Domestic Media Coverage of Yeltsin Report 73
More on USSR Supreme Soviet Session *[IZVESTIYA 22 Oct]* 73
    Railroads Need 'Urgent Assistance' 73
    Tractor Industry Problems Noted 73
    Latvian Deputy Pugo's Address 75
    Ekibastuz Worker Speaks 76
    Writer Raises Ecological Issues 76
Aganbegyan Interviewed on Restructuring *[Warsaw Television]* 77
Solovyev at Leningrad Youth Rally 29 Oct 78
Leaders Visit Machine Building Exhibit *[PRAVDA 31 Oct]* 78
Biryukova Tour of Kirgiz SSR Reported *[IZVESTIYA 29 Oct]* 78
Uzbekistan's Nishanov on Kazakhstan 79
Ukrainian Council of Ministers Session Meets *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 27 Oct]* 79
Former Dissident Denounces Psychiatry Abuse *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 30 Oct]* 81
Psychiatric Treatment Examined *[MOSCOW NEWS 25 Oct]* 81
Critic, Historian on Reassessing 1917 *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 28 Oct]* 83

Economic

Shevardnadze on Decentralizing Economic Ties
    [VESTNIK MINISTERSTVA INOSTRANNYKH DEL SSSR 10 Sep] 88

Pact, NATO Representatives Meet in Vienna

LD021148 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Vienna November 2 TASS—A regular meeting of the representatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries and NATO was held here today to work out a mandate of the future negotiations on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

The representatives of socialist countries drew attention to the call by the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states to expedite the reaching of accords that would make it possible to pass over to practical talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals with account of the security interests of all the participating states in the CSCE process.

'Question of Confidence' in U.S. Moves

PM030935 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 87 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Soldatenko article: "Strengthening, Not Destroying Confidence"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, raised the question of confidence between the USSR and the United States in his 23 October Kremlin talks with U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. The Soviet leadership seeks to utilize every opportunity to broaden mutual understanding between the two countries' citizens, encourages various forms of public contacts at all levels, and takes other specific practical measures to strengthen confidence. The possibility of U.S. scientists' setting up their apparatus to verify the staging of nuclear tests at the Soviet site in Kazakhstan, the visit of a group of U.S. Congress representatives to the radar station under construction in Siberia for tracking objects in space, the invitation to experts, diplomats, and journalists from 44 countries to visit the chemical installation in Saratov Oblast—all this convincingly demonstrates the USSR's honest and open approach to resolving complex international problems.

But there are circles in the West which oppose the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world and seek to frustrate or, at least, to do all they can to hamper the reaching of any disarmament agreement. They have plenty of experience in this regard. In the history of Soviet-U.S. relations there are many examples where the Soviet Union's peace-loving steps have, quite frankly, been greeted across the ocean with actions aimed at exacerbating the international situation and escalating the arms race. Here are just a few examples confirming this.

In February 1981 the USSR announced that it would not produce neutron weapons unless other states acquired them, and it expressed its readiness to conclude an international agreement banning those weapons forever. But what was the U.S. response? On 6 August 1981 it issued an order to start large-scale production of neutron weapons.

Washington ostentatiously refused to subscribe to the unilateral Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. During the 18 months that our moratorium was in effect the United States conducted 26 nuclear weapon tests. The U.S. adoption of a decision to assemble binary chemical ammunition was its response to the showing of the Shikhany chemical installation to U.S. and other foreign experts. Nor did the U.S. side consent to M.S. Gorbachev's proposal to proclaim a moratorium, effective 1 November, on all work connected with the production, testing, and deployment of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

I could continue the list of such "responses." We do not encounter U.S. reciprocity in the matter of strengthening confidence-building measures. On the contrary, Washington, despite officially made public declarations and assurances, is continuing to pursue a policy of fanning mistrust and suspicion and is cultivating a "hostile image" with regard to the Soviet Union. There was the unworthy propaganda ballyhoo over the case of the U.S. journalist Daniloff in 1986, that is, on the eve of the Reykjavik summit meeting, and the espionage passions over the U.S. Embassy in Moscow shortly before Secretary of State G. Shultz visited the USSR. A recent piece of evidence is the document "Activity in Ensuring Soviet Influence: Report on Active Measures and Propaganda, 1986-1987," compiled by the State Department jointly with a number of other U.S. departments.

The U.S. side is also pursuing the same policy of undermining Soviet-U.S. confidence in the military sphere. What is the significance, for example, of the test of the new 12-warhead D-5 missile for the Trident-2 nuclear-powered submarines, which was conducted soon after E.A. Shevardnadze's Washington meeting with R. Reagan and G. Shultz?! L. Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, voiced the quite valid fear that such a test will complicate the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms and make it more difficult to agree on measures to verify the number of warheads on U.S. SLBM's.

On 17 September, literally the final day of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Washington at which an accord was reached in principle on the "global double-zero," the Pentagon leader adopted a decision to conduct demonstration tests of six technological developments [razrabotki] which could be used when deploying the first echelon of an ABM system with space-based elements. Even the U.S. press admitted that such an action undermines the ABM Treaty, without which, as is known, no agreement on reducing strategic offensive arms is possible.

How are we to evaluate such provocative actions as, for example, the repeated incursions by U.S. warships into USSR territorial waters, which are carried out, so *The New York Times* believes, not without grounds, within the framework of a large-scale espionage operation against the USSR on the Pentagon's orders? According to the newspaper's information, numerous eavesdropping devices and other electronic apparatus for gathering data on the Soviet Armed Forces had been set up on board the cruiser *Yorktown* and the destroyer *Caron*, which penetrated Soviet territorial waters 13 March 1986 in the Black Sea off the south Crimean coast. The U.S. nuclear-powered missile cruiser *Arkansas* violated the USSR state border in the region of the Avachinskiy Gulf 17 and 21 May 1987.

There has recently been an increase also in the number of violations of the airspace of the USSR and its allies. On 22 September 1987 a U.S. helicopter violated the GDR state border northwest of the city of Erfurt. There has been a sharp increase in the launch of "reconnaissance balloons" packed with all kinds of apparatus over USSR territory. On 4 October 1987 eight such unmanned means of espionage at once were sent from the Baltic in the direction of our country's state border. The number of U.S. and NATO reconnaissance aircraft which come almost right up to USSR airspace during military exercises is also growing continuously. There have been almost 5,500 such extremely dangerous incidents so far this year.

One wonders what kind of confidence there can be in such a situation. But it is evidently precisely such a situation that best suits the opponents of easing tension, who argue like this: If there is no confidence, there can be no implementation of an accord on reducing nuclear weapons.

But this is yesterday's thinking: We must not play at politics in the nuclear age. It is always possible and necessary to find ways to strengthen confidence among peoples if the political will for this exists. This is confirmed by the adoption of the substantive and far-reaching document on strengthening confidence- and security-building measures at the Stockholm conference in 1986. Through joint efforts all the European participant states, as well as the United States and Canada, were able to overcome their disagreements and reach accords on a number of key questions of ensuring security in Europe, concretize the principle of the nonuse of force, make it effective, and find mutually acceptable measures to strengthen confidence and security in the military sphere.

The victory of common sense in Stockholm was a great step toward easing tension and improving the international political climate so necessary for resolving the vital problems of our nuclear age. The participant states' exchange of their plans for notifiable military activity for the next year before 15 November and the reaching of an accord on inspections on demand, of which the United States and the USSR have already availed themselves, are of particularly great significance from the military and political viewpoints. They not only give all states an overall picture of military activity in the very near future but also show their readiness to remove suspicion in relations with each other and to direct their thinking away from confrontation and toward confidence.

The USSR sets a convincing example here. The names of three population centers on USSR territory—Semipalatinsk, Krasnoyarsk, and Shikhany—are perceived everywhere as synonyms for the concepts of "goodwill" and "new political thinking." Following the U.S. congressmen's familiarization with the Krasnoyarsk radar, it is logical to expect the U.S. Administration to grant Soviet representatives the right to a reciprocal visit to the U.S. radar at Thule (Greenland). Permission from official Washington for Soviet scientists to set up their apparatus to verify the holding of nuclear tests on the Nevada site would also help to remove mutual suspicions.

Confidence must be a two-way street. As M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in conversation with G. Shultz, it is necessary to clear the road toward each other with not only Soviet but also U.S. bulldozers. So it is time to abandon the desire to "get around" the other side for the sake of one's own narrow mercenary interests. Real security can only be equal and universal.

PRAVDA Review of Week's International Events

PM021615 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Yevgeniy Grigoryev "International Review"]

[Text] The Living October [subhead]

We are on the threshold of Great October's jubilee week. It will begin tomorrow with a festive session in Moscow. A major, all-embracing discussion of the path that has been traveled, of things to come, and of the problems of today's world will take place here in the next few days before the eyes of all mankind, in an atmosphere of openness and glasnost. But for now, let us take a look at the canvas of pre-October events abroad. This is because the preparation for the October Revolution's 70th anniversary has been a major event in international life.

Of course, the Land of the Soviets has always had many friends abroad. And they have joined us in celebrating every October landmark. But this year the nature of these events has acquired new features and hues imparted to it by restructuring and glasnost.

A growth of interest in, sympathy for, and trust in the USSR can be observed everywhere in the world. Here is a phenomenon from the FRG. A poll there has shown that 76 percent of those polled sympathize with our country's foreign policy initiatives. People wish to receive more truthful information about our country. This is why so many conferences, symposiums, and discussions have been organized abroad to mark the October jubilee, helping people to understand and interpret the Soviet Union's life and policy and our people's aspirations, concerns, and deeds. And these events in themselves reflect the face of the new world. The revolutionary workers and peasants who stormed the Winter Palace could hardly have imagined that, 7 decades later, the world historical importance of their deeds would be the subject of study at, for example, an international conference organized in the capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia!

Let us, in these pre-October days, also note the heightened attention paid to us by those forces in the West which go further than merely refusing to accept socialism. The Land of the Soviets, which is undergoing renewal through revolutionary restructuring, glasnost, and democratization, is causing many worries for these circles. The "enemy image," which all military programs of NATO countries [This and following additions and variations are reported in *Pravda* in Russian, First edition, on 1 November. Here First edition reads: ...all military programs and concepts of NATO countries...] have relied on for decades, is fading. The propaganda centers in the West are trying to preserve the stereotypes of [First edition reads: ...are trying to maintain the stereotypes of...] anti-Soviet hostility and suspicion. The ultraconservative "International Security Council" issues panicky warnings that the United States and its allies "do not understand the seriousness of the threat posed by the Soviet Union to the whole world." This is the frontal aspect. But now they rely with increasing frequency on more "sophisticated" methods. "Reports" are compiled, articles and interviews are published, yet the aim is obvious: to impress on an uninformed public the idea of "Soviet intrigues," and to discredit our country's authoritative and honest image.

Of course, even bourgeois circles are not all birds of a feather. The USSR's foreign policy initiatives and the restructuring are encouraging a significant proportion of people within these circles to look closely at the sources and content of Soviet concepts and the new political thinking. It is no accident that the approaching [First edition reads: ...the sources and truths of Soviet concepts and policy. We cannot fail to note the fact that the approaching...] jubilee of Great October has been marked by an unprecedented abundance of material in the Western press.

The Paris newspaper *Le Matin* has published special four-page supplements. They are devoted to the main stages of USSR history and to today's life and changes in our country. Even London's conservative *The Times*, which can hardly be accused of showing us any special favors, published on 28 October an article under the remarkable headline "Why the World Is in Russia's Debt."

"In spite of everything," its author V.G. Kiernan, professor of history at Edinburgh University, asserts, "the Soviet era has been fundamentally one of progress, along a road never before traveled, a triumph of human determination in face of prodigious difficulties, many of them still to be overcome." Having emphasized that "fascism's defeat was the Soviet Union's most epoch-making service to Europe and humanity," the author concludes: The USSR is now demonstrating "readiness for a fresh advance. Peaceful coexistence has at the same time a good augury in that the USSR, after years of patient efforts, has come very close to achieving an agreement with America on limitation of nuclear armaments."

A New Meeting Lies Ahead [subhead]

Yes, this news item—the announcement of a new meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan—crowned, in the full sense of the word, the last week in October in world politics. Following Geneva in 1985 and Reykjavik in 1986, the United States will be the third venue for such an event in 1987. The initial response shows that this accord is welcomed all over the world with great satisfaction and relief, with hope for specific results in the interests of trust, disarmament, and the opening of a way to guaranteed peace.

It is never easy to ascend summits, and especially, as experience shows, the political-diplomatic summits of meetings between the Soviet and U.S. leaders. But this is not surprising, bearing in mind the urgency and scale of the problems of war and peace in the nuclear space age and the historical responsibility for their solution. This time it took a message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to U.S. President R. Reagan and one more round of talks (just a week after Moscow), this time in Washington, before the required results emerged and it became possible to set the date for a new Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. All this, just like E. A. Shevardnadze's working visit to the U.S. capital, goes to reaffirm the renewed dynamism of our political relations and the process of talks. Their aim is to transfer the dialogue to the plane of practical solutions long awaited in both our countries and all over the world.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S. President attach exceptionally great importance to the meaningful conduct of the new meeting. It will cover the entire package of questions of relations between the two countries. They include arms reduction, human rights and humanitarian issues, settlement of regional conflicts, and problems of bilateral relations. There is no doubt that the meeting will ensure significant progress on the entire range of these questions.

But it seems as if it will inevitably focus on the problems of terminating the arms race. [Sentence in first edition reads: ...But it is easy to predict that it will focus on the problems of terminating the arms race...] A step toward important agreements was already taken as a result of the Moscow stage of Soviet-U.S. conversations. The path has virtually been paved for conclusion of the work on a "double zero" treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles (the latter are now also referred to as shorter-range missiles). Work on the treaty ought to be fully completed during these November weeks and it ought to be submitted for signature by the leaders of the USSR and the United States during their forthcoming meeting on U.S. soil. It is universally agreed that the signing of such an agreement would be an act of historic importance. After all, this will be the first occasion when two classes of nuclear missile arms, delivery vehicles and launchers in their hundreds, and thousands of nuclear warheads have been eliminated simultaneously. This will be a good gift to mankind, which is dreaming of reversing the arms race.

However, the realities of today's world warn against euphoria. It has been estimated that the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles will reduce the existing nuclear potential by just 3 percent. Clearly, this can be perceived as just the first practical step along the path toward radical solutions. The question of strategic offensive arms is truly of key importance for the cause of terminating the nuclear arms race and for Soviet-U.S. relations. It is, moreover, closely linked with the problem of nonplacement of weapons in space.

It is difficult but possible to undo this knot. Many capitals have greeted with interest the new compromise proposals submitted by the Soviet leader during his recent conversation with the U.S. secretary of state in Moscow.

Now these problems have to be discussed at a new Soviet-U.S. summit meeting; it will be of the greatest importance. Disucssion is, after all, planned on the question of elaborating instructions for the delegations conducting talks in Geneva regarding the future treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms by the USSR and the United States, the accord on observing the ABM Treaty, and not withdrawing from it within an agreed period of time. Swift elaboration of the treaty on radically reducing strategic offensive arms would make it possible for the treaty to be signed during the U.S. President's visit to Moscow.

Those are promising prospects. Were they to materialize, mankind would take what would perhaps be the decisive step toward a nuclear-free world. The peoples ardently wish for such a peaceful "chain reaction."

The problems of international security in all their main aspects were examined at the session of the Warsaw Pact States' Foreign Ministers Committee. It was held in Prague 28-29 October. We find it valuable and important that the fraternal countries unanimously share and support what they consider the common constructive line of initiatives in the struggle for disarmament. The document adopted in Prague, with its proposals to boost the efficiency of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, is exceptionally topical.

Intense and multifaceted work continues in all these avenues toward peace and security. It progresses with difficulty, not always "on schedule," but it does progress, and this is the most important sign of the times.

A Familiar Throwback [subhead]

"Only a few months ago some European NATO member countries opposed the 'double zero option,'" the West German *Stuttgarter Zeitung* notes. "Now, however, West Europeans hold the unanimous view that the complete elimination of medium-range missiles accords with the continent's interests." But this does not present the full West European picture. It is a much more complex picture, bearing in mind the views and approaches of some governments and political forces. In particular, active attempts are being made to "compensate" for the intended elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons in Europe by all sorts of "arms upgrading" and to justify the strategy of nuclear "deterrence."

The meeting of WEU foreign and defense ministers in The Hague a few days ago is indicative. A "Platform on European Security Problems" was adopted there. The document's authors believe that it is time to act because the future holds "new developments in East-West relations, especially in arms control and disarmament," that "could have far-reaching consequences for European security." At the same time , "particular concern is caused by the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional forces and its potential to carry out a surprise attack." Salvation is proclaimed in the form of the policy of consistent implementation of existing plans "in the sphere of both conventional and nuclear arms."

This fuss is persistently fueled by the Pentagon. A few days ago, its chief C. Weinberger specifically dwelt in detail on "the question of NATO defense following the possible conclusion of an agreement to eliminate Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles." The minister warned that the buildup of NATO arms and the "modernization of its nuclear arsenal" must remain paramount tasks. He moreover referred to the "inexorable logic of ensuring peace through strength."

What does this mean? "Peace through strength" rather than reason? Unfortunately, the WEU "platform" is also sadly curious primarily as a throwback to the old thinking. There are hardly any grounds to assume that those who inspired it cannot discern the new realities and development trends. It is understandable that they face complex problems in the sphere of policy and strategy. But why seek a response to the challenge of the times in the same old categories of military confrontation and the policy of strength? There are the Warsaw Pact's proposals to compare military doctrines and eliminate everything that generates fear of a surprise attack. This "passes unnoticed." Out of habit, security is sought primarily on a bloc basis. What is this if not "topsy-turvy logic"? [Sentence in first edition reads: ...But in our time, this is "topsy-turvy logic."...]

Toward the Peace Shore [subhead]

I would now like to say just a few words about *Pravda's* mailbag on international questions. Its volume has been tangibly growing recently, from abroad, but mainly from our own cities and countryside. Of course, since the time of October, Soviet people have absorbed the great truth of Lenin's Decree on Peace, but restructuring and glasnost encourage them to become even more actively involved in matters of big politics.

Here is a heap of telegrams received this week. They came in on the crest of the "Peace Wave." Worker Z. Dyusekeyeva's telegram reads: "I am the mother of five children. We are all worried by the situation and support the Soviet Government's foreign policy. We believe that we will succeed in preserving peace." Our readers write letters attaching great importance to the accord on medium-range and shorter-range missiles. They realize the hardships and efforts that every step toward improving the situation costs. "Way back in 1916," A. Prudnikov from Krivoy Rog reminds us, "V.I. Lenin warned us that the bourgeoisie is extremely reluctant to embark on disarmament."

Every day we receive letters containing reflections and proposals in connection with the well known article "Reality and the Guarantees of a Secure World." Jurist M. Glushchenko from Alma-ata wrote as follows, approving the article's propositions and conclusions: "It is gratifying that the new thinking in views on the solution of international problems is beginning to make headway." And one more word. N. Kalnitskiy from Odessa was one of the builders of the USSR's first nuclear test range and among the witnesses of the first atomic explosion. "Several decades [First edition reads: ...More than 40 years...] have already passed since that time," he writes, "but what I saw in that distant past comes back to me like a terrible nightmare, sending shivers down my spine. Everyone must realize that only the complete destruction of nuclear weapons provides the guarantee which can preserve peace and the survival of civilization on earth." Like many others, he concludes: "I wholeheartedly support the goals outlined in 'Reality and the Guarantees of a Secure World.' The course of Lenin's party and the Soviet state is the right one. I would like to say: Keep up the good work, the peace shore is clearly visible and everyone must strive to reach it!"

USSR Submits Draft Economic Resolution to UN

LD030955 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 3 TASS—At the 42nd U.N. General Assembly session socialist countries on Monday came up with concrete proposals for cooperation to ensure international economic and ecological security.

The delegation of the USSR submitted to the consideration of the second committee (economic and financial issues) a draft resolution which says that the efforts to form an international economic security system should be based on a constructive dialogue and miltilateral cooperation. Their purpose is to contribute to the growth, economic and social progress and development. Cooperation among all states should be based on respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of any state, the right of the people of each country to choose independently their social, economic and political system.

A draft resolution tabled by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Czechoslovakia notes the need to establish an international ecological security system which would assure a stable development of all countries in safe ecological conditions.

The authors of the report emphasized that creating international ecological security would make an important contribution to establishing an atmosphere of trust, forging stability and removing tension in international affairs.

Maritime Expert on Malta Oceanic Conference

PM021537 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 87 First Edition p 4

[Y. Vdovin interview with Professor A. L. Kolodkin, chairman of the Soviet Maritime Law Association and vice president of the International Maritime Committee, under the headline "Peace on the Seas and Oceans" and the rubric "Problems of Concern to Mankind"; first six paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The world's oceans cover more than 70 percent of our planet's surface. The greater part of them are areas of open sea which, in accordance with the universally recognized principles and norms of international law, are not the sovereign territory of any state, and all countries have an equal and common right to use them. Freedom of navigation, indissolubly linked with all of man's activity in the peaceful use of the seas, is based on the fundamental principle of freedom of the open sea. At the same time, the world's oceans are also an arena for naval operations by various states, whose ships and aircraft are equipped with modern arms, including nuclear arms, which always carries the danger of conflicts.

How can this danger be removed? How can the world's oceans be turned into a zone of peace and cooperation? These problems, in whose solution the peoples have a vital interest, were discussed—most constructively—by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech in Murmansk 1 October. In particular, his proposal to reduce military activity and limit the scale of naval and air force activity in the Baltic Sea, North Sea, Norwegian Sea, and Greenland Sea, and also to extend confidence-building measures to them, could be the first step toward extending confidence-building measures to the whole of the Arctic and northern regions in both hemispheres.

The Soviet initiatives have met with interest and approval among the broad public not only in northern countries but also in many other states. This is no accident — surely the preservation of peace on the seas and oceans is the main condition of the comprehensive, full utilization of maritime areas and resources?

The Soviet leader's new proposals—in addition to his initiatives put forward in Vladivostok and India, in his responses to the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka* regarding the Asian and Pacific region, and in his speech in Moscow during a reception for the Algerian president regarding the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean — make up a whole complex of measures aimed at resolving the truly global problem of maintaining and strengthening peace on the seas and oceans.

The sphere of activity of the international conference "Peace on the Seas," which has held regular sessions since 1970, is extensive. These sessions are organized by the International Oceanic Institute, whose headquarters are in Malta, and attract a broad range of participants from various countries. In 1985 the participants in this forum met in Moscow. In autumn 1987 their 15th meeting was held in Malta, as was their meeting in 1970. The Soviet delegation to the conference was led by Professor A. L. Kolodkin, chairman of the Soviet Maritime Law Association and vice president of the International Maritime Committee, who answered a number of our questions.

[Vdovin] The conference slogan is "Peace on the Seas." What results has the present meeting produced in this respect?

[Kolodkin] The declaration unanimously approved by the participants in the Malta meeting contains an appeal to all states to observe the principle of peaceful use of the seas and oceans envisaged by the 1982 UN Convention on Maritime Law, and to be guided by the principle of the nonuse or threat of force stipulated by the UN Charter. In its "Conclusions and Recommendations" the conference speaks in favor of developing these principles by concluding international agreements which would provide for reducing nuclear weapons on the seas and oceans, forming zones free of nuclear arms, establishing confidence-building measures, limiting the scale of naval activity, and exchanging information on naval exercises.

The conference decisions — and likewise the speeches of its participants — expressed support for the Soviet initiatives aimed at ensuring peace and security on the seas and oceans.

The conference participants voiced the desire to use UN peacekeeping forces when necessary to settle the outbreak of any conflict situations that may occur in various parts of the worlds oceans. The conference also approved the idea of drawing up a multilateral treaty to prevent incidents at sea on the basis of existing bilateral (between the USSR and the United States, and the USSR and Britain) agreements. This kind of document could make a vital contribution to ensuring security at sea.

The participants in the meeting expressed concern over the tension in the Persian Gulf region and spoke in favor of solving this problem within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter.

[Vdovin] The movement for peace on the seas and the struggle to limit naval arms are directly linked to the question of developing the peaceful use of the world's oceans. How was this problem approached at the conference?

[Kolodkin] Many of the participants spoke about this. It is particularly relevant at present. Mankind's interest in developing the peaceful use of the world's oceans is reflected in the comprehensive 1982 UN Convention on Maritime Law, which has been signed by 159 countries. The conference participants pointed out in their speeches that the fruitful implementation of this convention's provisions, aimed at creating favorable conditions for commercial shipping, fishing, and maritime research, is possible only in the context of lasting peace and security.

The meeting in Malta spoke in favor of ending naval exercises in the region of busy trade lanes and ensuring the security of sea-lanes by combating piracy and international terrorism. The Soviet delegation drew the participants' attention to the 27 June 1986 decision by the UN International Court, which pointed out the unlawful nature of the United States' mining of Nicaraguan waters inasmuch as, according to international law, no state has the right to impede foreign ships' free access to the territorial waters and ports of another state.

[Vdovin] What are the plans for the conference's future activity?

[Kolodkin] Next year the meeting will be held in the Canadian city of Halifax. It will be devoted to the problem of developing and transferring maritime technology to developing countries. It is planned to hold the 1989 conference in the Soviet Union to discuss the issues of maintaining peace, law and order on the seas and oceans, and protecting marine life.

United States & Canada

Karpov Comments on Summit Prospects

LD031150 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Today the U.S. AP news agency quoted Marlin Fitzwater, a White House spokesman, as saying that practical preparations had been started in Washington for the December visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The TASS diplomatic correspondent requested Viktor Karpov, chief of the Directorate for the Problems of Limitation of Weapons and for Disarmament of the USSR Foreign Ministry, to say about the agenda of the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meetings.

The special message from Mikhail Gorbachev to the U.S. President, which was delivered to Washington by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, contains the concept of two consecutive and mutually interconnected summit meetings designed to lend the process of Soviet-American summit contacts a trend towards achieving substantive and weighty results, the Soviet expert said.

As a result, an understanding was reached that the Washington meeting will complete the process of concluding an agreement on the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles and outline the basis for an agreement for a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms on condition of non-use of the right to withdraw from the ABM Treaty in the course of an agreed period. The next, Moscow meeting, scheduled for the first half of 1988, will sum up that work: A Soviet-American agreement on a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms is to be signed at it.

Agreement is also, certainly, to be reached at the meeting in Moscow on the observance of the ABM Treaty by the sides and non-withdrawal from it within an agreed time. We propose, the Soviet expert stressed, at least ten years. Apparently, this subject will be also discussed. Yet there is an understanding in principle between the contracting parties that a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms and agreement that the ABM Treaty will remain a real basis for ensuring strategic stability in the course of an agreed period, is the key element of the future agreement in Moscow.

As far as the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative is concerned, the Soviet side is not inclined to view it as a separate subject of the talks. If the Soviet Union and the USA reach agreement in connection with the ABM Treaty, thus what is being done in the field of the ABM outer space systems should automatically fit into the framework of that important bilateral agreement of 1972 the way it was signed and ratified.

Weinberger Reportedly Considers Resignation

LD030603 Moscow TASS in English 0600 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Washington October [month as received] 3 TASS—U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger will soon tender his resignation, all the leading U.S. television companies reported today. According to the ABC television company, White House officials did not refute this news. Frank Carlucci, today's assistant to the President for national security affairs, will probably replace Weinberger on the post of defense secretary, CBS reported.

Gorbachev Book Published in U.S.; Comments

LD030124 Moscow TASS in English 0110 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 2 TASS—A ceremony for the official presentation of the a book entitled *Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has taken place at the Soviet Embassy in Washington. The book is put out by the American publishing house "Harper and Row".

The publication of the book in the United States under the title with a new English word 'Perestroyka' has become "an extraordinary event", American publisher Michael Bessie said at a news conference.

"It has already been called the book event of the year. Advertising of the book will use the line 'the book of the year by the statesman of the year'. I think that's not an unfair designation. This is a proud day. It's a real book and it's fulfilment not only of a publisher's dream but the hopes of many for what we hope will prove to be better understanding", Mr Bessie emphasised.

"The book", pointed out Yuriy Dubinin, the ambassador of the USSR to the United States, "is not only a responsive reaction to the acute problems of our time. It is a philosophical reflection about the restructuring in our country and the destiny of the world. The problem of survival of mankind and our common destiny in the face of nuclear annihilation is outlined by the author with a special concern. It is somewhat symbolic that today we have gathered here in the Soviet Embassy for the presentation of the book of the Soviet leader literally a day after the agreement was reached about the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. This course of events reflects our fundamental approach to the development of Soviet-American relations".

"The agreement on holding this meeting is a guarantee that new relations between our countries are not only possible but are becoming a reality", the ambassador of the USSR stated.

Gorbachev Speech Available in Washington

LD030957 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 3 TASS—In several hours from the moment Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed a meeting in Moscow to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the full text of his report was widely circulated in the U.S. capital.

The U.S. private company "Federal News Service", which specializes in preparing transcriptions of speeches and statements by administration officials and congress hearings, transmitted the text of the report "The October and Perestroyka: The Revolution Continues" to all of its subscribers and there are several hundred of them.

"Federal News Service" President Cort Randall described in a TASS interview Mikhail Gorbachev's report as a very important speech. He said that the company received numerous requests from representatives of the press, who showed great interest in getting the full text of this speech, and made a decision to transmit it on its channels.

U.S. Reaction to Shultz Moscow Trip Viewed

PM021333 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch: "Reaction After Talks"]

[Text] Washington—The theme of Soviet-U.S. relations and the talks which took place in Moscow are at the center of political circles' attention in Washington.

On Sunday Secretary of State Shultz visited the White House and informed President R. Reagan of the results of his trip to the Soviet Union. The talks are also being widely discussed in congressional circles, where a whole series of opinions concerning disarmament problems and the fulfillment of the ABM Treaty are being expressed.

At first the U.S. press concentrated entirely on just one question only—prospects for another summit meeting—but now it is analyzing in more detail the entire complex of relations between the USSR and the United States. Observers focus particular attention on the main aspects of the disarmament problem: The prospects of concluding a treaty both on medium- and shorter-range missiles and on the main, key question of reducing strategic offensive arms while complying with and preserving ABM [Treaty] procedures are being discussed.

There are also changes in tone: Washington is admitting the importance of the talks in Moscow. President R. Reagan talked about this in his address, pointing out that "progress was made," since the United States and the USSR are now closer to completing work on the agreement to eliminate an entire class of missiles.

The observers state that the USSR once again did not come empty-handed to the negotiating table. Fundamentally new Soviet proposals emerged concerning the problems of strategic offensive arms. But the constructive new Soviet proposals have featured in the U.S. press, although they have not been "splashed," and consequently Americans are learning of them. Their opinion, according to numerous opinion polls, is well known: The great majority are in favor of dialogue and the conclusion of treaties with the USSR, and of ending the arms race.

Official Washington has to take these views into account. Especially on the threshold of the coming elections. Today the administration is closely watching Congress, which is showing more and more independence on questions of arms control.

Recently relations between the U.S. President and Congress have become strained. Particularly after he tried to put the entire blame for the economic shocks in the country on the supreme legislative organ. In turn Congress countered that the reason for the gigantic budget deficit lies in the administration's military programs.

Reagan's position on the "inviolability" of SDI is not getting the necessary support on Capitol Hill. Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, reacted negatively to the stubbornness with which the President is defending SDI and indicated that he must show more flexibility and constructiveness in the talks and not cling to this military program. As for the ABM Treaty, Congress, unlike the White House, considers that it must remain inviolable.

Now that the question of the first-ever agreement on nuclear weapons [as published] as the beginning of more profound and substantial progress to eliminate the universal nuclear danger has been discussed bilaterally, U.S. military-industrial circles have become markedly more active. A whole series of tests of ultramodern weapons has been carried out, and another nuclear explosion has resounded in Nevada.

Next in line is the testing of weapons in space, the latest issue of *Military Space*, a bulletin connected with military-industrial circles, reported. Thus a test connected with the development of space-based lasers code-named Lance-1 will be implemented. The military nuclear systems agency will lead the test, the bulletin stresses. Then Lance-2 will follow, which will rehearse the power supply system for future arms in space.

As we can see, U S. military circles are beginning to throw lances into space.

Ozerov Counters 'Disinformation' Attacks

PM021745 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 87 Single Edition p 5

[Mikhail Ozerov article: "Fraudulent Tricks; Who Needed Fabrications About 'Soviet Disinformation'"]

[Text] Moscow is engaged in disinformation, leveling unjust accusations against America. This is perhaps the main thrust of the new propaganda campaign now being pursued against our country across the Atlantic. It is a large-scale campaign and both influential institutions and powerful people are involved in it.

What are the specifics here? Here are a few examples of the "unfounded charges" made by our side.

1. Reports in the Soviet press about possible involvement by U.S. special services in the murder of Olof Palme.

2. Claims that U.S. Government agencies were involved in the killing of members of the cooperative in Jonestown.

3. Reports that U.S. military and intelligence organizations were involved in the creation and spreading of the AIDS virus.

4. Information that Americans buy children in Central America and then kill them and use their organs for transplants.

We will look a little later at who needs the new campaign and why and how far it corresponds to present-day reality, but will now answer the main thrust of the charges against us. I will say straightaway that such articles have indeed appeared. But they were based each time on foreign, including U.S., sources.

Let us deal with them in order.

After the Swedish police arrested 32-year-old Viktor Gunnarsson, a figure in the so-called European Workers Party, on a charge of murdering Olof Palme the Soviet newspapers and magazines published a number of articles on this political grouping unknown to our readers. It was reported that the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* had written in detail about links between the European Workers Party and the CIA. An extract was cited from research carried out by Stockholm University according to which former CIA Director W. Colby acknowledged that the European Workers Party had until 1974 received up to $100,000 annually from Langley to publish its newspaper *Nyu Solideriti* [name as published]. There was also published a statement made to the Swedish parliament by Deputy Jorn Svensson, according to whom, "Palme's murder was inspired by Western special services."

Our newspaper already wrote on 7 October about the official U.S. State Department statement in which the the book entitled *Destruction at Jonestown—a CIA Crime*, published in the USSR, is described as disinformation specially prepared to "ensure Soviet influence" in international propaganda. We therefore only put the question: Did the State Department staffers when they were preparing this menacing statement consult actual documented information from their own press? For instance, the press conference by Michael Proks [name as published], one of the surviving members of the cooperative ? He said quite clearly: "The truth about Jonestown is being hidden because U.S. Government bodies played an active part in its destruction."

To turn to AIDS now. The 27 October 1986 edition of Britain's *The Guardian* featured an article by a British political scientist. It contained information drawn from U.S. documents. It included the testimony of a Pentagon staffer to the Congressional Budget Committee back in 1968. This stated that the Defense Department was examining the question of the development of a combat weapon to attack the human immune system. As is clear from the documents, the Defense Department stated: "In the next 5-10 years, it may be possible to create an infectious microorganism which will differ substantially from all known pathogens. Its most important feature is that it affects the immune system and the internal organs, on which our organism's ability to resist infectious diseases depends." The Swiss weekly *Wochenzeitung* expressed the opinion that it was from the Pentagon laboratories working on the development of biological weapons that this "genie" escaped.

There is one other substantive fact. The Soviet press has expressed a quite different opinion about the provenance of the AIDS virus, stating that it is of natural derivation. But people overseas prefer not to mention these articles. Or else do they believe that our mass media, unlike their U.S. counterparts, do not have the right to report different views?

Now to "point" four of our "disinformation." On 22 December 1986 the Honduran police discovered 13 children being held captive. The five people arrested admitted that they kidnapped young children from poor families and resold them so that the children's organs could be used. This was confirmed by the Honduran social welfare minister. Detailed information on the subject was cited by the radio station "Radio America" in the Honduran capital.

Those are the facts. The only question is whether people overseas want to face up to these facts. Will Marvin Stone take account of them, for instance? When the deputy director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) was in our country in mid-October, he drew his interlocutors' attention at every convenient (and inconvenient) opportunity to "instances of Soviet disinformation."

This was all the more unpleasant and offensive to hear because we value Soviet-U.S. contacts, in whose development the USIA plays a positive role. Mr Stone himself was visiting our country for a very happy reason—the opening of the "Information Technology in American Life" Exhibition in Rostov-na-Donu. But he expended a considerable proportion of his time and effort on reeling off a list of complaints during his meetings at various organizations.

A revealing point is this: When our interlocuter was asked to cite specific examples of "Soviet disinformation" or even when examples of U.S. propaganda fabrications were brought to his attention, he changed the subject. Then we immediately found points of contact—as a rule, the conversation got onto the question of our cooperation and joint projects!

Marvin Stone has someone to emulate. His chief, Charles Wick, recently gave a speech in Detroit. It was flowery and long-winded and dealt with the subject of "the new aggression from Moscow" which "consists in using world public opinion, which swallows Soviet information, to put pressure on governments in the free world, Western Europe, Japan, and the United States in particular, to act in line with Soviet interests." He concluded by saying that "glasnost is still just a glossy veneer whose aim is to ensure the triumph of lies and deception over truth and openness."

One would like to ask Mr. Wick whether he has not confused his target, as the lies and deception of which he has accused others surely prevail in his very own department?

We can hardly expect a reply. After all, as we saw from Mr. Wick's visit to our country at the beginning of the summer, the director of the USIA certainly has no liking for questions such as these. When a Soviet journalist asked him to comment on the results of public opinion polls which register a drop in the U.S. President's popularity, Charles Wick refused outright to do so. A little later he broke up the interview completely and left, not concealing his irritation....

However, the answer to our questions is well known even without the director. It is given out literally every day by various U.S. radio voices, newspapers, and journals. We could cite a considerable number of examples of scandalous disinformation about our country, which are spun out of thin air, as they say, but I will not do so right now. Primarily because I have no wish to act according to the principle "more fool he."

The possibility cannot be ruled out, however, that we will devote a special feature to this subject and ask the heads of the USIA specific questions.

But it would be wrong to take umbrage at the information agency. It is, for example, just one of the coauthors of the document entitled "Activity to Secure Soviet Influence: Report on Active Measures and Propaganda, 1986-1987," which is full of unfounded accusations against us. The report was compiled by the State Department in conjunction with the Pentagon, the CIA, the Justice Department, military intelligence, and a number of other departments.

Another document which has just been published has a only one author—the International Security Council. A group of conservative U.S. scientists and former diplomats, members of the council, has circulated a report. The report claims: "Whatever glasnost may mean within the Soviet empire, beyond its confines, in the free world that is, it is an invitation to unilateral political, psychological, and military disarmament, and in some cases even a pretext for such disarmament." In a word, beware of Russian glasnost, it is a terrible threat!

People really are afraid; this, I am convinced, is the main reason for the new wave of anti-Sovietism across the ocean. They are afraid that the truth about our country will get through to the United States and become firmly established in the Americans' consciousness!

The stance of the State Department deserves a special mention. It is constantly adopting new discriminatory measures against our journalists working in America. It is now almost a year since the procedure for obtaining official permission for Soviet correspondents' duty tours and movements around the country has become drastically more complicated. Now it is necessary every time to explain down to the smallest detail where you are going, why, and whom you intend to meet. They then check whether the U.S. citizen in question really wants to see you. The aim of these checks is obvious—to exert pressure. An American, recalling the gloomy times of McCarthyism and not wanting to be listed as unrealiable, may refuse to meet you. If that happens, you may as well "write off" the trip.

It is getting worse all the time: Since the middle of October Soviet correspondents are no longer allowed to choose where they live. The State Department itself deals with this now, via middlemen. What is behind this "concern?" It is obviously an attempt to control journalists' living and working conditions, to subject them to greater financial pressure, and to step up surveillance, (especially electronic surveillance)...

In general it is a question of a massive campaign which is being mounted in various directions. There is only one thing that its organizers and participants seem unable or unwilling to understand, namely that this is not yesterday, nor the day before yesterday. Such actions are totally at variance with what our two countries and the whole world need so badly—the strengthening of trust, mutual understanding, and good relations. After all, the time has come, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized a few days ago when he received George Shultz in the Kremlin, to use U.S. as well as Soviet bulldozers to clear the road toward each other. Now when real opportunities for a positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations have emerged, when, at last, there is a light at the end of the arms race tunnel, such "music" sounds as a strident discord.

U.S. Inspections, USSR 'Dignity' Discussed

PM021751 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

["Letter for Reflection" feature comprising letter from party veteran Leonid Romanovich Grinshteyn followed by Vitaliy Kobysh "Political Observer's Opinion": "Where Does the Country's Prestige Lie"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

In recent weeks many reports have appeared in the press and on television about certain "inspection" trips to our country by various U.S. figures. These brief reports without explanations create an unpleasant impression. Since when has our great state unilaterally permitted its main adversary to freely carry out various checks, investigations, and studies? (In Belorussia, Semipalatinsk, and Krasnoyarsk.) Even so, if it were announced that at the same time our scientists, military personnel, and other specialists were going to the United States for similar purposes, everything would be clear. But nothing of the sort is occurring, on the contrary: Our scientists are not allowed into the United States (instead Aleksandrov was kidnapped and his fate is still unknown); our correspondents are not allowed into the State Department for press conferences, and bandit attacks are carried out on our artists. Why? This is incomprehensible and disgraceful!

Furthermore, whereas our ministers, and not only they, constantly receive both groups and also individual representatives of the foreign public from the United States, Japan, the FRG, and so on, and receive people who want to organize cooperation and mutual understanding, on the whole people in Western capitals meet with our "former citizens," people who pursue other goals—those of complicating relations.

It is noticeable that the "guests" often permit themselves an inadmissibly free and easy tone at press conferences and in various statements.

Comparisons that are damaging to our country's prestige are bound to arise.

People talk about this subject and ask questions at seminars and political classes. It would be useful to discuss this question in the newspaper or give an explanation in an edition of *Izvestiya.*

Party veteran Leonid Romanovich Grinshteyn, Kharkov.

Political Observer's Opinion [subhead]

Esteemed Leonid Romanovich!

I read your letter with interest. This interest is twofold. First, I think it is extremely important that our people no longer think that foreign policy questions can only be discussed somewhere "above." We know what such secret discussions have sometimes led to and how long and dearly we have sometimes had to pay for them. In a word, glasnost is also making headway here, on the subjects discussed in your letter.

Second, I share your agitation and concern both for our country's security and for its dignity. Yet all the same I would like not to argue with you about the extremely important problems which you have raised, but to discuss them together, as it were.

You raise the question in the following way: We should treat the Americans on the principle of an eye for an eye. In particular, you mention certain "inspection" trips by various U.S. figures to our country and you are indignant at this.

I want to share certain thoughts. The problem of verification has become a stumbling block at the disarmament talks. The question of the possibility of, as you express it, "inspection" trips by Americans to our country was thoroughly weighed by experts and they came to the conclusion that the Soviet Union's defense capability will not suffer from such an "inspection" and that after this it will be difficult for Americans to avoid a practical resolution of verification questions.

This is what happened. We received practically unanimous support from world public opinion. The United States had to substantially revise its positions on arms control questions. Incidentally, an interesting report has just come in which you, Leonid Romanovich, may not yet have seen. The U.S. Energy Department issued notification of a test explosion in preparation at the Nevada testing range. The experiment, whose announced aim is to verify the possibilities of using seismic instruments to trace nuclear tests and measure the power of explosions, is being conducted within the framework of a nongovernmental agreement between the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the USSR Academy of Sciences. So things are progressing, even if they are not progressing as quickly as we would like.

Now for both the groups and the individual representatives of the foreign public from the United States, Japan, the FRG, and so on, whom Soviet leaders receive. You, Leonid Romanovich, think that it is incorrect that whereas we receive people who want to organize cooperation and mutual understanding, people in Western capitals meet our "former citizens," those who pursue other aims—those of complicating relations. I am not sure that they do only receive "former citizens" "over there." But the main thing, in my opinion, is not to attach excessive importance to who is received in Western capitals, still less to copy their methods.

You know that in the last 2 and 1/2 years the Soviet Union has submitted foreign policy initiatives of a truly historic character. It remains the fact that Western propaganda has so tightly blocked and hushed up some of these initiatives that many people know nothing at all about them and others have a distorted impression of them. So let as many people as possible come to our country and learn the truth "at first hand," so to speak, about our policy and our proposals.

I want to finish where I began. We cannot, say, copy the actions of the U.S. Administration. Imagine the sort of world we would live in today if we proceeded in this way. But nor do we court a slap in the face, you can be sure of that. We must proceed on the basis that the country's prestige does not lie in saber rattling or in abuse, but in its peace-loving course and the sincerity and good sense of its position. The new thinking demands a new policy. The Soviet Union seeks to adhere to both.

U.S. To Send New Ships to Persian Gulf

LD310046 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] New York October 30 TASS—The command of the U.S. Navy made a decision to dispatch the battleship *Iowa* and the aircraft-carrier *Midway* to the Persian Gulf area. These ships will replace the battleship *Missouri* and the aircraft-carrier *Ranger* now in that area. The aircraft-carrier *Midway*, which is part of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, will sail to the Persian Gulf from the U.S. Yokosuka Naval Base in Japan, AP reported.

According to available information, in the same month the amphibious helicopter-carrier *okinawa* will replace the *Guadalcanal* ship of the same class, the news agency points out. The *Guadalcanal* was the lead vessel in the operations on escorting U.S.-flagged Kuwaiti tankers in the Persian Gulf in recent time.

Reagan Signs Order Banning Imports From Iran

LD301436 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Washington October 29 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan has signed today an executive order officially clamping down an embargo on direct import in the USA of products from Iran. The new trade sanctions against Iran have become effective instantly. The special message to the U.S. Congress from the President claims that Iran's actions in the Persian Gulf create a direct threat not only to the ships flying the U.S. flag, but also the ships of the allies of the USA and of the other friendly states.

Early this week the President instructed the U.S. State Department and the Treasury to take steps for clamping down a total ban on Iranian imports and toughening control over U.S. exports to Iran.

Reagan Extends Sanctions Against Nicaragua

LD311740 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Washington October 31 TASS—On Friday President Reagan extended economic sanctions imposed against Nicaragua by the presidential executive order in May 1985. These measures provide, inter alia, for complete prohibition of import of any Nicaraguan goods to the USA and deliveries of U.S. goods from the USA. The order also bans the use by Nicaraguan ships and planes of U.S. sea anad air ports.

The President's message to Congress notifying it of the extension of the trade blockade points out that these sanctions coupled with diplomatic and other actions of the USA are called upon to put additional pressure on the Sandinista government. In justifying these actions the President alleges that the policy pursued by the Nicaraguan Government continues to be of extreme threat to the national security and foreign policy of the USA.

Kamentsev Receives U.S. Trade Official

LD301102 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vladimir Kamentsev received James Giffen, president of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC), who is now staying in Moscow.

They discussed the use of new forms of business cooperation between American ASTEC firms and Soviet organisations and also questions of ASTEC's activities.

Weapons Radiation Test Laboratory Operating

LD031019 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 3 TASS—A powerful accelerator of elementary particles has been put into operation at the military research center Scandia national laboratories. It will be used to check on radiation effects on electronic components of weapons. As the newspaper *Defense News* close to the military industrial circles said, the equipment named Saturn will make it possible to expose the components of weapons to by far heavier effects of X-rays than in underground nuclear tests with a yield of 150 kilotons.

The Saturn will make it possible to improve our potentialities in testing the weapons systems in a radiation situation, the newspaper quotes James Powell, a researcher of the laboratory, as saying. Now we can put to test even bigger components of weapons, before they are subjected to radiation in the course of underground nuclear tests.

According to the *Defense News*, the first to be tested in the new plant will be components of warheads for the advanced ballistic missile Trident-2. Next in turn will be a test within the framework of the Star Wars programme. According to the newspaper, the new equipment will be used to evaluate the survivability of satellites and space-based weapons systems.

Soviet-Canadian Space Cooperation Meeting

LD301346 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Today Soviet Academician Roald Sagdeyev and Canadian scientist Alan Leroy Vankougnett exchanged a handshake which ushered in the two countries' cooperation in studying outer space for peaceful purposes.

Thus how the four-day meeting (which was attended by Soviet scientists led by Roald Sagdeyev, director of the Space Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Canadian ones led by Alan Leroy Vankougnett, representative of the National Research council) ended in Moscow. [sentence as received]

The scientists exchanged information on space research programme being implemented in the Soviet Union and Canada, and discussed possible directions of joint work.

A mutual desire to develop cooperation was sealed in a protocol signed by the leaders of the delegations. The prototcol points out the Canadians' participation in the interbal international project on magnitospheric research. Preparation for the realisation of the project has begun in the Soviet Union.

Under the research the Canadians work on devising an instrument to photograph planetary polar auroras.

Agreement was reached on joint research in such fields as physics of the sun, terrestrial physics, high-energy astrophysics, submillimetre and millimetre astronomy, radioastronomy, material processing in weightless conditions, space biology and medicine.

The range of the subjects discussed was so wide that it was decided to continue to discuss them in Moscow in spring next year.

China

Further Reportage on 13th CPC Congress

Zhao Ziyang Congratulated

LD031127 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has sent congratulations to Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. The telegram reads:

Esteemed Comrade Zhao Ziyang. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and myself personally, I congratulate you on your election to the lofty post of general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. I wish you, the Chinese Communists, and the entire Chinese people, success in fulfilling the decisions of the 13th CPC Congress. It is my conviction that Soviet-Chinese relations will develop along the path of good-neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation for the good of the peoples of our countries, and in the interests of socialism and peace.

Meets Press on Congress

LD021814 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1217 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Beijing, 2 Nov (TASS)—TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov, Vyacheslav Tomilin, and Narat Abulkhatin report:

The first plenum of the CPC Central Committee of the 13th convocation, which elected the new Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, was held here today. [passage omitted]

The members of the newly elected Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee met with Chinese and foreign journalists who covered the work of the Chinese Communists' forum. The most important achievement of the Congress and the first plenum of the Central Committee of the new convocation, said Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, is the fact that they ensure stable continuation of the party's political, organizational, and theoretical line. "The new makeup of the CPC Central Committee," he stressed, "will continue the policy of expanding ties with the outside world and the policy of reform and modernization of the country which began 9 years ago."

During the meeting with journalists, Zhao Ziyang wished the Soviet Union success in its policy of restructuring. Regarding the changes which are taking place in the socialist countires, the Chinese leader noted that there can be no general model for carrying out reforms since each country has its own specific situation. But it is necessary to study experience in a mutual way.

He said that at present the whole leadership of the party and the state support the policy of reform and broadening of ties with the outside world. The "existence of differing opinions" on certain specific questions in the Standing Committee of the Politburo and the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee can only help toward successful implementation of this policy.

Replying to a question from a U.S. correspondent on the state of Chinese-U.S. relations in the light of the position of certain U.S. senators on the events in Tibet, the Chinese leader expressed bewilderment at the reaction of the U.S. legislators. Do they want a return to slavery in Tibet, and how does this comply with the human rights for which they clamor so much? he asked.

Zhao Ziyang reported that at the forthcoming meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Congress, which will take place in the near future, his statement regarding his request to be relieved of his duties as premier of the PRC State Council will be examined. Until then, a caretaker prime minister will be appointed for the leadership of the work of the government.

'Political Bureau' Elected

LD022213 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Beijing November 2 TASS—TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov, Gennadiy Krivosheyev, Vyacheslav Tomilin and Marat Abulkhatin report:

The 13th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) today held its first plenary meeting here and elected its new Political Bureau.

The latter's full members now include Wan Li, Tian Jiyun, Qiao Shi, Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Li Tieying, Li Ruihuan, Li Ximing, Yang Rudai, Yang Shangkun, Wu Xueqian, Song Ping, Zhao Ziyang, Hu Qili, Hu Yaobang, Yao Yilin and Qin Jiwei. Ding Guangen was elected an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Hu Qili and Yao Yilin were elected to serve on the Political Bureau's Standing Committee.

Zhao Ziyang was elected general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The Political Bureau's Standing Committee suggested a new secretariat for the Central Committee and the plenary meeting approved the list. The full members of the Secretariat now are Hu Yili, Qiao Shi, Rui Xingwen and Yan Mingfu. Wen Jiabao was elected an alternate member of the Secretariat.

Deng Xiaoping was appointed chairman of the Military Cuncil of the CPC Central Committee. Zhao Ziyang was appointed first deputy chairman of that council.

The party's central commissions held their plenary meetings today as well. Chen Yun was elected chairman of the party's Central Commission f Advisers, while Qiao Shi became secretary of the Central Commission for Monitoring Discipline.

The members of the newly-elected standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee met with Chinese and foreign newsmen covering the proceedings at the Chinese Communists' congress.

Zhao Ziyang said the most important thing about the decisions of the congress and the first plenary meeting of the new Central Committee was that they ensured a stable continuation of the party's political, organizational and theoretical policy lines. "The new Central Committee," he said, "will carry on the policy of expanding ties with the outside world and the policy of reform and modernization in the country launched nine years ago."

During the meeting with the correspondents Zhao Ziyang wished success to the Soviet Union with its perestroika effort. Touching on changes in socialist countries, the Chinese leader said there could be no common model for reform as each country had its own specific situation, but it was essential to study one another's experience.

He added that the entire leadership of the party and the state now supported the policy of pursuing reform and broadening relations with the outside world, while "the presence of differing opinions" on some specific issues in the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and in the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee could only facilitate a successful implementation of that policy.

Answering a question from a U.S. correspondent about the state of Chinese-American relations in the light of the stand taken by some American senators on events in Tibet, the Chinese leader expressed bewilderment at the reaction of the U.S. law-makers. "Do they want the restoration of the slave owning system in Tibet and how does all this square with human rights for which they campaign so eagerly?," he asked.

Zhao Ziyang said that the next meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress soon would consider his request to relieve him of his duties as premier of the State Council. Before this happens, an acting premier will be appointed to direct the government.

Election Results Reported

LD030039 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 2 Nov 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] At the end of our review of the most important world events, once again about the results of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China, which has just ended. At the plenum of the CPC Central Committee held today, Zhao Ziyang was elected general secretary. Also elected was a new Political Bureau of the Central Committee, composed of 18 people.

In accordance with the congress policy of rejuvenating the party leadership, the new lineup of the Central Committee does not include such well-known CPC veterans as Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen and others.

The newspaper *Renmin Ribao* today publishes a congress resolution on the review report of the CPC Central Committee. The resolution notes that Chinese Communists will continue restructuring the economy, combining it now with reform of the political structure. The policy worked out by the congress, the document stresses, is an important theoretical contribution to the cause of building socialism with Chinese features.

Reactions to CPC Report Noted

PM021843 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondents B. Barakhta and A. Krushinskiy report: "Everyday Work"]

[Text] Beijing, 27 Oct—For many people in Beijing now the day starts with the buying of a newspaper. A line forms in the morning outside the newspaper kiosk on Wangfujing Street in central Beijing. Copies of *Renmin Ribao, Guangmin Ribao,* and *Beijing Ribao* sell out quickly. People walking along the street open them immediately, and the question that can be seen on their faces is: What is new at the 13th CPC Congress?

The discussion of the CPC Central Committee report is continuing in discussion groups in the Great Hall of the People. The delegates, according to today's *Renmin Ribao,* are unanimous in their high appraisal of the important party document. Guan Guangfu, a delegate from Hebei Province and secretary of the provincial party committee, believes that the report outlines the CPC's general line for the period of the initial stage of socialist building and provides a theoretical basis for restructuring all aspects of the country's life. In an interview with *Renmin Ribao* correspondents, Han Peikin, a delegate from Jiangxi Province and secretary of a local party committee, talks about the need to formulate a theoretical justification for the reforms. Until very recently a number of comrades continued to have doubts about many innovations in the PRC's economic, social, and political life. In the congress materials today you can find answers to questions relating to the character of the transformations in the PRC.

In the party's economic strategy an important role is assigned to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and rapid introduction of its achievements in the national economy. It is thus no coincidence that today's routine press conference for foreign and Chinese journalists in the Great Hall of the People was devoted to this topical issue.

State Council Member Song Jian, who addressed the correspondents, noted that quite a lot has been and continues to be done in this sphere. Over 8 million people in China are working in the natural sciences now. During the years of the reform the ranks of scientific workers swelled by almost 4 million. The PRC is successfully resolving the tasks of accelerating scientific and technical progress and Chinese scientists' considerable contribution to world science is also well known. Suffice it to say, for example, that a detachment of cosmonauts was set up recently and that the first Chinese manned space flight is in prospect.

Special attention is being paid in China to development of the priority areas of science and technology, and the 13th CPC Congress documents provide guidelines to that effect. China's best scientists are working in such fields as microelectronics, the nuclear power industry, genetic engineering, and the creation of new materials. The "Spark" 5-year scientific program adopted in 1985 provides great help in overcoming the backwardness of agriculture. In the course of its implementation, 500 model farms will be created and 1 million agrarian specialists will be trained.

The PRC's scientists, the press conference stressed, do not keep within narrow national confines but cooperate in the scientific area with 106 countries. Scientific contacts between the PRC and the Soviet Union have been developing fruitfully on the basis of equality and mutual benefit since the signing of the corresponding agreement in 1986.

Replying to a question from a Western correspondent, Song Jian expressed regret at the United States' discriminatory decision to freeze scientific and technical cooperation with the PRC.

The 13th CPC Congress continues work.

Delegate on Foreign Trade Ties

LD021435 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondents B. Barakhta and A. Krushinskiy dispatch: "Meeting with Delegates"]

[Text] Beijing, 29 Oct—In the Great Hall of the People today, foreign and Chinese journalists met with representatives of the Chinese intelligentsia who are delegates to the congress. The conversation was about party policy in accelerating scientific and technical progress in the PRC and improving the cultural level of the nation. Numerous questions were answered.

The press conference was addressed by Gu Mu, member of the State Council and a delegate to the 13th CPC Congress. He dwelt on questions of developing foreign ties. The dynamic nature of China's trade and economic cooperation with socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, was noted with satisfaction. In the last few years, PRC trade with the socialist countries has quintupled. However, there are still considerable reserves in this area.

The PRC is prepared to continue developing trade and economic ties with the USSR.

Chinese Envoy Informed of Soviet-U.S. Talks

LD022136 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Rogachev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received PRC Ambassador to the USSR Yu Hongliang, and informed him about the results of the talks in Washington between Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and the President and secretary of state of the United States.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Takeshita Discusses Relations

LD010726 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Tokyo October 31 TASS—Noboru Takeshita, the new chairman of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, who is to take up premiership early in November, addressed a press conference in Tokyo today.

He said that in January next year he would visit the United States to have negotiations with President Reagan. Noboru Takeshita underlined he intended to pay special attention to solution of trade and economic problems between the two countries.

Touching upon relations with the USSR, the would-be prime minister of Japan expressed the hope that the attainment of the accord between the United States and the Soviet Union at negotiations on reduction of nuclear armaments, and also the coming meeting between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union would exert a favourable impact also on the exercise of Japanese-Soviet summit contacts.

"I wholeheartedly hope for a possible visit of the leader of the USSR to Japan", he said. Meanwhile Takeshita underlined "he did not intend to depart" from the previous policy of putting territorial claims to the Soviet Union.

Japan's Nakasone Welcomes News on Summit

LD311025 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Tokyo October 31 TASS—Today Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone acclaimed the understanding on a Soviet-American summit in the USA to start on December 7. He expressed the hope at a meeting with journalists in Tokyo that the negotiations would result in complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and progress in cutting strategic offensive weapons.

Japanese-U.S. Maneuvers on Kyushu Island

LD021149 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 2 TASS—Large-scale joint Japanese-American exercises are taking place in the Kyushu island. The aim of the exercises is to test offensive combat actions, the *Kyodo Tsushin* news agency reports.

Ground force exercises involve three thousand Japanese and American officers and men—infantry, tanks and artillery, fire-support fighter-bombers and anti-tank missiles are being used in the course of the exercises.

The exercises began on the Hijudia test range in the Oita Prefecture in the north-eastern part of Kyushu on Sunday, and military training operations started today. Operations of separate armed services—infantry, artillery and other units, will be tested till November 5, and then multi-service exercises will begin.

Japanese Delegation Visits 22-30 Oct

LD302135 Moscow TASS in English 1549 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—A delegation of women functionaries from the Socialist Party of Japan, led by Manae Kubota, head of the bureau of the SPJ Central Executive Committee for Work Among Women, deputy of the Japanese parliament, stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee from October 22 to 30.

The delegation was received at the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, the Leningrad regional committee of the CPSU, the All-Union Central Trade Union Council, the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Women's Committee, and the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

The Japanese socialists visited industrial and agricultural enterprises, social and cultural facilities. They showed great interest in socio-economic changes carried out in the Soviet Union, and Soviet women's participation in their implementation.

Members of the delegation expressed the hope that the success of the reorganization drive in the USSR would help to enhance further socialism's prestige and enable the Soviet Union to make a greater contribution to securing peace on earth.

DPRK Embassy Marks Kim Il-song Visit

PM021351 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Anniversary"]

[Text] On 23 October Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR, arranged a reception to mark the anniversary of the friendly visit to the USSR by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and president of the DPRK.

The reception was attended by M.N. Smirnovskiy, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

More on Anniversary

SK300405 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 1300 GMT 24 Oct 87

[Text] Kwon Hui-kyong, ambassador of our country to the Soviet Union, arranged a film show and banquet on 23 October on the occasion of the first anniversary of the friendship visit to the Soviet Union by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Central Committee and president of the DPRK. A portrait of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song was respectfully placed in front of the place where the events were held.

Invited to the events were Mikhail Smirnovskiy, deputy chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Igor' Rogachev, Soviet deputy foreign minister; and responsible functionaries of party and government organs, public organizations, friendship organizations, army, and publication and press organizations.

At the film show, the documentary film of our country "The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-song's Friendship Visit to the Soviet Union" was shown. A banquet was held after the film show.

Ambassador Kwon Hui-kyong and Deputy Foreign Minister Igor' Rogachev spoke.

In his speech, Deputy Foreign Minister Igor' Rogachev noted that the friendship visit to the Soviet Union last year by Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and president of the DPRK, and the high-level talks held during the visit were another event which further promoted the relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DPRK.

Referring to the agreement reached upon between the leaders of the two countries, he stressed that it can be satisfactorily noted that there has been a success in the work to embody it in practice over the past year.

Noting the comprehensively developing Soviet-Korean ties and the expanding struggle of the peoples of the two countries to defend world peace and security, he said that the Soviet Union fully supports and favors the DPRK initiatives to preserve peace on the Korean peninsula, to hold constructive dialogue between the North and South, and to achieve the reunification of the country in a democratic and peaceful way.

In conclusion, he spoke on further deepening cooperation between the Soviet Union and Korea.

Those present at the banquet toasted to the good health and long life of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, to the good health and long life of the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il, and to the good health and long life of respected Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

DPRK Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow

PM021043 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 28 October Kim Yong-nam, member of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the State Administration Council, and DPRK foreign minister, left for home after stopping over in Moscow. He was accompanied to the airport by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Tolstykh Receives DPRK Science Official

PM031037 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] On 27 October B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received Kang Sang-Ki, first deputy chairman of the DPRK State Science and Technology Committee. Questions of the further development of USSR-DPRK scientific and technical cooperation were discussed.

Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR, was present during the conversation.

Science-Technology Accord Signed With DPRK

SK300433 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0430 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 28 (KCNA)—A protocol on the 20th session of the standing sub-committee for scientific and technological cooperation of the Inter-Governmental Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the DPRK and the USSR was signed in Moscow on October 28.

It was signed by Vice-Chairman Han Song-pil of the DPRK State Commission of Science and Technology and Vice-Chairman M. Kruglov of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

Peace Activist on Ties With DPRK Committee

OW272113 Moscow in Korean to Korea 1330 GMT 24 Oct 87

[Excerpts] A Radio Moscow reporter recently visited the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and asked Mme (Ayolita Kovaleva), chief of the committee's Department on Relations Among Socialist Nations, to explain the committee's close relations with the Korean National Peace Committee. She made the following remarks for our listeners:

[Begin recording of (Kovaleva) remarks in Russian fading into Korean translation] We can say that the relations between the two committees have been developing satisfactorily. We are pleased to maintain friendly contacts with our Korean comrades. We believe that we will be able to wage active struggles together with them in the future to consolidate peace and security.

A few days from now, a delegation of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace will leave for Pyongyang. Members of the delegation will include representatives from Moscow , Leningrad, [word indistinct] Kray, and Khabarovsk Kray, as we as scientists from various large scientific institutions such as the Far Eastern Scientific Center, the Oriental Studies Institute, and the Far East Institute under the USSR Academy of Sciences. They will attend joint events marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and participate in a scientific symposium on various issues concerning Asia and the Pacific region. Among important subjects to be discussed at this symposium will be one on the historic significance of the Great October Revolution, which has had great effects on the peoples in Asia.

At the symposium, the Soviet delegation will point out the dangerous nature of U.S. policies in Asia. Among other things, the symposium will discuss the possibility of removing the danger of provoking a nuclear war on the Korean peninsula. The removal of this danger is one of the basic conditions for maintaining regional and global peace.

It has an immeasurably great significance for consolidating our ties with peace-loving forces in broad areas on the earth. Of late, consolidation of peace in Asia has become one of the most important global tasks. This is because nuclear confrontation is fierce and military and political tensions are very acute in this area. A vast amount of murderous nuclear weapons are now stored in Asia and the Pacific region, and half of over 2,000 nuclear warheads are being deployed in the southern half of the Korean peninsula. All this poses a great threat to the security of this region and its nations. It also heightens the possibility of a confrontation in which nuclear arms may be used.

We are well aware of the grave issues facing our Korean friends. We actively support their proposals that Korea be unified in a peaceful and democratic manner and that the Korean peninsula turn into a peaceful zone free of nuclear arms. We believe that the solution of national issues by the Korean people has a great significance in consolidating security in Asia and the Pacific region.

We are pleased at the support of the DPRK for the intitiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for peace. The Korean comrades support General Secretary Gorbachev's statement on 15 January 1986. [passage omitted]

The ties between our two peace committees have been increasing each year. We plan to have joint meetings next year, too, to practically contribute to the common struggle for peace in this region. [end recording]

The above were comments by Mme (Ayolita Kovaleva). You have just listened to an interview with a responsible worker of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia's Hun Sen Addresses Peace Proposals

LD301903 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—The People's Republic of Kampuchea has taken a serious, far-reaching step when it proclaimed the policy of national reconciliation and advanced five-point peace proposals. This new political action is viewed by the world public opinion as a step on the road of the quest of a real solution to the Kampuchean conflict, Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, said at a press conference here today.

Almost everybody is saying that the Kampuchean conflict should be resolved by political means. But confrontation prevails over negotiations. Any methods are used in order to undermine the beginning tendency toward a political solution of the Kampuchean problem. The main purpose of these actions is to compel the Kampuchean people to continue living in the atmosphere of a devastative war, to restore the bloody Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea.

Important changes favouring the quest of the way out of the existing situation and of opening talks to resolve the conflict by peaceful means have taken place due to the efforts of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, of a number of other countries that strive to promote the solution of the Kampuchean problem through talks. The arrangement reached in Ho Chi Minh City between Vietnam and Indonesia about an informal meeting between the opposing Khmer sides is an important step that meets with ever wider recognition though the bellicose forces strive to undermine it.

"Prince Norodom Sihanouk expressed consent and readiness for taking part in talks of the opposing Khmer sides proposed by seven Khmer political figures staying in France. He also proposed to me a meeting in Paris in the period ahead", the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kampuchea said. "This shows that Prince Sihanouk takes steps in the same direction with the People's Republic of Kampuchea. We view this as an advance along the road of the quest of an acceptable political solution to the Kampuchean problem". Hun Sen added that a compromise about his meeting with Sihanouk had been reached but that actions to undermine it had simultaneously been conducted.

Hun Sen emphasised that the achievement of peace and solution of questions of development through talks is preferable to the use of military methods. For an earlier establishment of peace, for an end to bloodshed talks are more effective than the continuation of war. The Kampuchean problem must be resolved by the Kampuchean people itself, without outside interference. Thus a meeting between Sihanouk and Hun Sen is an imperative. The attempts of one side to impose its opinion on the other or advance preliminary conditions for talks mean an obstacle to the solution of the Kampuchean problem. The solution that is to be reached should take into consideration the interests of all the sides. Therefore they should be on a flexible position opening an opportunity for finding points of contacts. Avoiding talks or undermining talks is an act running counter to the interests of the Kampuchean people and those who are to blame for this will be responsible to history, the Kampuchean leader said.

Further on Hun Sen

LD301911 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

The reconstruction of the country is a difficult undertaking when war and peace are alternating. Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, said here today at a press conference in the press centre for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. He said the leadership of the People's Republic of Kampuchea exerts every effort so that that dramatic alternative exist no more, and the long-suffering people of Kampuchea firmly embark on peaceful life. Hence, the course at the settlement of the Kampuchean problem by political means.

But the opposition forces bank on confrontation, are striving to undermine the nascent tendency toward a peaceful settlement of the problem. The aim of that course is to restore the bloody Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea.

The policy of national reconciliation is not empty words with the Kampuchean people. It is striving for a meeting with Prince Sihanouk, is ready for contacts with some leaders of the Khmer groups, makes other manifestations of genuine flexibility that opens an opportunity to find points of contact. In the Soviet Union, this course aimed at a political settlement is viewed as the only correct one. We believe that the Kampuchean problem must be resolved by the Kampuchean people itself without any outside interference. The Soviet Union is prepared, together with other countries concerned, to promote a political settlement of the situation around Kampuchea in the interests of the Kampuchean people, for the sake of consolidating peace and international security. The Soviet side proceeds from the view that the solution of the Kampuchean problem is linked directly with the problem of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Representatives of the Western press put a number of obviously loaded questions to the Kampuchean leader as to what will happen if the Kampuchean problem cannot be resolved by peaceful means. Hun Sen said: "There are two ways out of the situation: one peaceful and the other military. If we cannot achieve our aim by a political way, the armed struggle will certainly be continued. But I would like to stress that the Kampuchean people hates war".

Commentary Welcomes Hun Sen-Sihanouk Meeting

BK300328 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Station observer's commentary: "On the Road toward Seeking Negotiation"]

[Text] As reported by SPK, Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, has stated his willingness to meet with Prince Norodom Sihanouk in Paris in December of this year. Comrade Hun Sen has also reiterated the Cambodian Government's readiness to give a high post to Prince Sihanouk, that is, as the president of state, vice president of state, or chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Our observer writes:

This statement is regarded as proof of the PRK Government's goodwill and desire to reach national reconciliation. If the Paris meeting is possible, the two sides may be able to solve many problems and seek reasonable measures for normalizing the situation around Cambodia.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk's attitude regarding the Paris meeting also brings hope. As noted by Comrade Hun Sen, Prince Sihanouk did not set any precondition. In a statement issued in October, Prince Sihanouk pointed out that, in his opinion, the Cambodian problem cannot be resolved either through the use of force or voting in international forums. The key to the settlement must be sought through talks.

Many political observers think that the necessary points for talks on the basis of equity and mutual interests were already in existence. The Cambodian Government's national reconciliation policy has created favorable conditions for the process of talks.

Two months ago, everywhere in Phnom Penh, one could hear the appeal for reconciliation by all patriotic Cambodians regardless of their past, class categories, nationalities, views, ideologies, and religious belief. This appeal has been broadly welcomed and supported. Those who are living abroad, for whatever reason, have gradually returned to their fatherland. They have been given full rights to citizenship and possibilities to carry out work in the interest of the fatherland. Each of them may make an appropriate contribution to national construction in accordance with their own experiences and activities.

This appeal also extends to the opposition leaders. Phnom Penh has called on them to join the coalition government to be formed in accordance with the national reconciliation program. The only exception to this process is Pol Pot and his close henchmen.

This is very reasonable. However, some circles in the Western world still continue their activities to prove the Pol Pot clique has a right to join the national reconciliation. Regarding this, they have claimed that the Pol Pot clique has a role in the Democratic Kampuchean government. However, it should be noted that this government was formed with the support of outside forces. Under the banner of this government, over the past 8 years, the Pol Pot clique has continually committed subversive acts against Cambodia. It is still carrying on these acts.

Pol Pot's supporters have not abandoned their hope to use his clique to obstruct the national reconciliation policy. However, even with such a subversive attempt, the trend toward seeking a solution to the Cambodian problem has already taken shape. The coming meeting in Paris between Comrade Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk is proof of this. We have enough reasons to concretely evaluate the prospects for normalization of the Cambodian situation.

Soviet Ambassador to Thailand Reassigned

PM021355 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Chronicle" report]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Anatoliy Ivanovich Valkov USSR ambassador to Thailand and USSR permanent representative in the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Valentin Petrovich Kasatkin from his duties as USSR ambassador to Thailand and USSR permanent representative in the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) in connection with his transfer to other work.

Laos' Sipaseut Leaves Moscow After Stopover

PM031041 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] Phoun Sipaseut, member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Lao foreign minister, in Moscow en route from New York, left for home 26 October.

He was seen off at the airport by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Telegram Greets Tuvalu Independence Day

PM301347 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "On Occasion of Holiday"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has sent Tuvaluan Prime Minister T. Puapua a telegram of congratulations and wishes for the Tuvaluan people's well-being and prosperity on the occasion of the national holiday—Independence Day.

In an answering telegram the Tuvaluan prime minister expressed his sincere gratitude for the congratulations and expressed wishes for the prosperity of the people of the USSR.

U.S. Provoking Philippines to Save Bases

PM030955 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Commentator's Column": "Philippines in Turmoil"]

[Text] Yet another bill proposing to ban completely the siting of nuclear weapons in the Philippines has been submitted for parliamentary examination.

Its initiator, A. Koseteng [name as published], who represents Greater Manila in the lower chamber, is seeking to have the country's entire territory, including the U.S. military bases, declared a nuclear-free zone. Two similar bills were introduced in the Senate not long back. The proposers of these bills demand actual implementation of the provision introduced in the new constitution whereby the Philippines, in accordance with its national interests, is to pursue a nonnuclear policy.

Almost immediately after the parliamentary elections a group of deputies called at the Foreign Ministry, where they proposed that Washington be immediately informed of Manila's desire not to extend the agreement on U.S. military bases on Philippine soil, which expires in 1991. Following the stormy protests caused by the appearance of the battleship *Missouri*, which carries Tomahawk missiles, at the Subic Bay base 12 senators (that is to say, exactly half the senators in the upper house) proposed that legal guarantees of the country's nonnuclear status be provided. The bills proposed by them envisage not only banning the production and siting of all mass destruction weapons but also, following New Zealand's example, denying any foreign ships carrying nuclear warheads access to the country.

It is against this background that the true reasons for the worsening political situation in the Philippines and the increasing activity of rightwing antigovernment forces are to be sought. "There is an undoubted link between the repeated attempts to stage military coups and the growth in the movement to eliminate U.S. bases in the Philippines," F. Abad [name as published], deputy in the House of Representatives, has said. "The U.S. administration is clearly banking on the Philippine Army to suppress the wave of antinuclear sentiment in the country," Congressman V. Gardus [name as published] echoed him.

While repeatedly expressing its verbal support for Aquino Washington is secretly inciting the military to stage more and more mutinies, as a result of which the government is becoming increasingly impotent and vulnerable to rightwing pressure. According to a statement made by Defense Minister Rafael Ileto, a state of emergency may have to be introduced in the country. This would mean the dissolution of parliament before it could adopt the bills unacceptable to the United States. Here indeed lies the key to understanding the dramatic events that have lately been causing turmoil in the Philippines. Washington preferred to sacrifice Marcos in order to hold talks about the future of the bases with a more popular government. Wanting for the time being to maintain this liberal facade, the U.S. leaders have not yet completely unleashed the military but are eroding the present administration's power, gradually preparing a "constitutional alternative" to it.

Aquino: Philippines Seeks 'Good Relations'

LD302050 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Manila October 30 (TASS)—By TASS correspondent Sergey Almazov:

President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines has expressed the hope that Philippine-Soviet relations will further develop in the years to come.

Replying to the TASS correspondent's question at a press conference today, sho noted the Philippines' interest in promoting cultural relations with the Soviet Union.

Aquino said that the policy of her government was to maintain good relations with all countries in the world.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Frigate Fires on Iranian Boat 1 Nov

LD030115 Moscow TASS in English 0105 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 2 TASS—An American missile frigate on Sunday night opened machine gun fire at an Iranian military boat in the Persian Gulf.

As stated today by a Pentagon spokesman, the order to open fire was given when the Iranian boat had approached an American merchant ship, the Patriot, and failed to react to warning shots by the frigate which was escorting the ship.

The Pentagon spokesman said it was not yet clear if the Iranian boat was hit.

UAE Worried By Size of U.S. Gulf Presence

PM021651 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent A. Stepanov report under the rubric "The Planet's Hot Spots: Persian Gulf": "Interference Continues"]

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 31 Oct—The United Arab Emirates [UAE] news agency WAM reports that five additional U.S. warships have sailed into the Persian Gulf.

The agency, Director I. 'Abid said in conversation with *Pravda*'s correspondent, has its own helicopter with a team of reporters on board, and is timely and ahead of other agencies in its coverage of events in the southern part of the Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz. This time, too, the helicopter spotted a new U.S. Navy detachment escorting the helicopter carrier *Blackhawk*. The cruiser *Standley* sailed alongside it until the Strait of Hormuz. The detachment includes, in particular, a landing ship with tanks on board, which brings an even more dangerous feature to the U.S. military presence in the Gulf zone.

The stepping up of tension in the Persian Gulf, which is significantly promoted by the disproportionately expanded U.S. military presence, causes growing worry here.

The UAE newspaper *Al-Ittihad* directly accuses the United States of pursuing a "two-faced policy" in the region. In an interview with the Jordanian newspaper *Al-Dustur*, UAE Minister of Information and Culture Ahmad Ibn Hamid Al Nuhayyan noted that the Iran-Iraq war has left the region's doors wide open for interference by foreign forces.

An editorial in the newspaper *Al-Khalij* contains sharp criticism of the United States. This article says that Washington both opposes the convening of an international conference on a Near East settlement and rejects the idea of creating international forces under the UN flag to ensure freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf. Both cases, the newspaper writes, demonstrate the U.S. hegemonist policy, which runs counter to the interests of peoples in the Near and Middle East. Washington is doing its utmost to block the extinguishing of the Gulf conflagration by the world community—after all, in that event there would be no justification for a continuing U.S. presence there. In pursuit of its selfish goals, Washington simply ignored the part of the UN Security Council resolution which called on third countries "to show restraint" regarding the Iran-Iraq conflict, the newspaper writes in conclusion.

Stop Press... [subhead]

According to news agency reports, Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister M.J. Larijani has declared that his country has withdrawn a series of objections and now fully agrees with Security Council Resolution 598 on ending the Iran-Iraq war and creating a commission to apportion responsibility for starting the war.

USSR Wants UN Fleet on Arab Summit Agenda

JN030815 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0710 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 3 Nov (WAKH)—The Abu Dhabi newspaper *Al-Ittihad* has stated that the USSR is holding contacts with several Arab states to convince them to place a Soviet proposal on the agenda of the Arab summit. This conference is scheduled to open in Amman on 8 November. The Soviet proposal concerns creating a UN peace force to replace Western fleets in the Gulf and to protect international navigation in the region.

The newspaper quoted diplomatic sources as saying that Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, asked Iraq and Kuwait to list the Soviet proposal on the summit agenda during his visits to both countries this week. These sources also said Vorontsov noted the USSR believes this proposal is the only way to implement UN Security Council Resolution 598, especially since Iran has welcomed this proposal.

'Arafat Praises Soviet Stance on Conference

LD022358 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1526 GMT 2 Nov 87

[From the "News: Special Edition" program; Farid Seyful-Milyukov interview with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, in Moscow 2 November; 'Arafat and Seyful-Milyukov speak in Arabic fading to Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] Now over to the foreign guests at the jubillee ceremonies: Here is Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and supreme commander of the armed forces of the Palestinian revolution.

['Arafat] I listened with great interest this morning to Comrade Gorbachev's report which expounded in a compact fashion the important and great revolutionary experience of the Leninist party, the experience of the previous 70 years. It is difficult to overestimate its significance for the whole world. I would like to point out that this report also speaks of the Soviet leadership's resolve to completely fulfill all these decisions, which presuppose profound revolutionary transformations in your country.

[Seyful-Milyukov] Comrade Gorbachev's report also contained interesting remarks on the development of the situation in crisis regions. It spoke of the Soviet peace initiatives on the Middle East. What can you say on this subject?

['Arafat] Your proposal calling for an international conference on the Middle East has attracted the attention of the whole world. It should be said here that this initiative is aimed at establishing a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, and is above all meant to bring into effect the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the wish of the Palestinian people themselves and of all progressive humanity.

PLO Envoy, Vinogradov Meet in Moscow 29 Oct

JN302016 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1815 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] The Soviet Union has reaffirmed its principled and firm stand in support of the Palestinian people's struggle under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

The reaffirmation was made during a meeting yesterday between comrade Vinogradov, Soviet deputy foreign minister [name and title as heard], and Sa'id Abu 'Amarah, PLO charge d'affaires in Moscow. They reviewed developments on the Palestinian question and our people's suffering in the occupied homeland and Lebanon.

The Soviet diplomat lauded PLO efforts to convene an international peace conference in the Middle East with the participation of the permanent member states of the UN Security Council and the parties concerned, including the PLO. Vinogradov also expressed satisfaction with the international support enjoyed by the PLO, particularly following the recent conference of nongovernmental organizations held in Geneva. The conference demonstrated international unanimity in supporting the just rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is to establish an independent state. He declared: No one now doubts that the PLO represents the Palestinian people.

Comrade Vinogradov paid tribute to the steadfastness of the Palestinian masses in the occupied homeland and their rallying around the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

DRA Foreign Ministry Addresses Reconciliation

LD010050 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Kabul October 30 TASS—The latest actions of the Pakistani authorities aimed at distorting the essence of the policy of national reconciliation and diplomatic activity conducted by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan run counter to the interests of settling the situation around Afghanistan and establishing durable peace in the region, a DRA Foreign Ministry spokesman told the *Bakhtar* news agency. He said Afghanistan had of late exerted efforts to explain the aims of the course at national reconciliation to the world public, sent goodwill missions to more than 50 European, Asian, African and Latin American countries. The tasks of those missions had on the whole been achieved and the peoples of many countries received for the first time objective information on the situation in Afghanistan.

Alongside this, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan took a number of constructive steps at the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly so that its participants should refrain from ineffective actions concerning the so-called "Afghan problem". Afghanistan, specifically, proposes two supplements to the resolution on this matter. First, alongside the provision for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, it is proposed to include in the resolution the provision about an end to armed interference from abroad. Second, the section of the resolution about the approval of the Geneva talks aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan should include a supplement about the support for the policy of national reconciliation which suits this purpose. The Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that two supplements would make the resolution an effective means of political settlement.

In view of this, the attempts of Pakistan and the imperialist circles, above all the United States, to switch the debate at the session of the General Assembly to the road of anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet propaganda were clearly aimed against a peaceful political solution of the existing questions. We urge again Pakistan and all other United Nations member-countries to pursue in their policy the interests of peoples, to exert joint efforts toward the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, the implementation of the United Nations decisions aimed at ensuring peace and security in the region, the DRA Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Algerian-Soviet Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD301426 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—Algeria's finance minister Abdelaziz Khellef described as a qualitatively new stage in trade and economic relations between the USSR and Algeria the results of the 12th session of the permanent intergovernmental Soviet-Algerian commission for economic, scientific and technical cooperation which ended in Moscow yesterday. He was speaking at a ceremony of signing the final protocol.

The minister stressed that the emergence of new forms of business relations of the two countries and further development of traditional economic ties made it possible to considerably extend mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and Algeria.

The protocol envisages, in particular, joint ventures in ferrous metallurgy and petroleum chemistry on the territory of Algeria and closer links between Soviet enterprises and Algerian national companies

Special attention is paid to the possible deliveries of Algerian industiral goods to the USSR which will make it possible to increase trade turnover between the two countries.

The sides outlined prospects for the participation of Soviet organisations in modernising the iron and steel works at el-Hodjar aimed at boosting its output of pig iron and steel. Measures were outlined to further extend bilateral cooperation in such branches of the Algerian economy as power engineering, chemistry, petroleum chemistry, gas, water economy and transport. The protocol provides for wide-scale soviet assistance in training Algerian personnel.

The protocol of the meeting was signed by Konstantin Katushev, chairan of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic relations, and Algeria's finance minister Abdelaziz Khellef.

The next meeting of the commission is scheduled to take place in Algeria in 1988.

Moroccan Leftist Hails GOSR, CPSU Policies

PM031427 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Rabat, 27 Oct—A routine plenum of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism [PPS] Central Committee was held in Casablanca 25 October. 'Ali Yata, secretary general of the PPS, delivered the report on the international situation and the position within the country.

The ceaseless efforts of the USSR and the other socialist community countries to consolidate peace and achieve disarmament, he noted, are yielding tangible practical results. In this connection 'A. Yata welcomed the accord in principle reached between the Soviet Union and the United States on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles.

All progressive mankind, the speaker continued, is preparing to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, an event of tremendous importance which marked the beginning of a new era — the era of socialism. The Soviet people have made great progress in the socioeconomic, scientific, technical, and cultural spheres. The CPSU is now working in a new direction, imparting even greater dynamism to Soviet society's further development. These measures, which are being taken against a background of the profound socioeconomic crisis in capitalist society, graphically demonstrate socialism's superiority and its ability to successfully overcome the difficulties that arise and to rectify the mistakes. The plenum heard an appeal to PPS members and all the Moroccan people to mark the glorious anniversary of Great October in Morocco.

In the report, which was approved by the plenum participants, 'A. Yata expressed concern at the the continuation of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict and called for its settlement by political means. He condemned the U.S. actions in the Persian Gulf and the buildup on various pretexts of its military presence there, which threatens the peoples' security and the cause of peace.

The plenum participants declared their suport for the peoples of Southern Africa, who are struggling against the shameful system of apartheid, colonialism, and racism.

The report, which has been published in the newspaper *Al-Bayane*, analyzes the socioeconomic crisis in Morocco.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Mozambican Army Delegation Visits USSR

PM021653 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Oct 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Guests From Mozambique"]

[Text] A delegation of political workers from the Mozambican Armed Forces headed by Captain J.M. Mandra, deputy national political commissar of the Mozambican Armed Forces and chief of the National Political Commissariat's Information and Propaganda Directorate, was in the Soviet Union 18 through 25 October 1987 at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation members had talks at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate on questions of the content and organization of party political work, visited the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy, and familiarized themselves with the work of the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House. The Mozambican delegation visited Leningrad Military District, where it familiarized itself with combat and political training and the lives and leisure pursuits of servicemen in one of the district's units.

The Mozambican guests visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall, toured monuments to the Soviet people's revolutionary, combat, and labor glory, and saw the sights of Moscow and Leningrad.

The delegation of Mozambican political workers was received by Admiral A. I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Colonel General D. A. Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, took part in the talk.

Frelimo Delegation Visits USSR 15-24 Oct

PM021337 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation From Mozambique"]

[Text] A delegation of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] headed by J. Carrilho, secretary of the party Central Committee, visited our country 15 through 24 October in accordance with the plan for CPSU-Frelimo ties.

The delegation held meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, Administrative Organs Department, International Department, and Administration of Affairs, the Moscow Higher Party School, and the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences. The Mozambican guests traveled to the Belorussian SSR, and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises there.

East Europe

GDR's Honecker Ends Visit to Romania

LD301434 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest October 29 TASS—An official friendly visit to Romania of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, president of the GDR State Council, came to a close today.

During the talks Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, and Erich Honecker exchanged information on the tasks and activities of the two parties connected with the fulfilment of plans and programs of socio-economic development of Romania and the GDR. They discussed a possibility of further expanding and deepening friendly relations between the two countries and of production cooperation in various spheres.

The heads of the two parties and countries welcomed the reaching of understanding in principle by the Soviet Union and the United States on concluding an agreement aimed at the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

They went on record in favour of all-out elimination of all the conflicts and controversial problems in interstate relations only by peaceful means, of the establishment in Europe and the world over of an atmosphere of detente, security, trust and broad cooperation.

Honecker Visits Moscow, Receives Award

Addresses 2 Nov Rally

LD021612 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1233 GMT 2 Nov 87

["Erich Honecker's Address at Festive Session in Moscow"—ADN headline]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov [date as received] (ADN)—The text of the speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the festive session marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] in Moscow today is as follows:

On behalf of the party and state leadership and of the people of the GDR, I convey to you and through you to all Soviet Communists, to the glorious Soviet people, the most cordial, fraternal greetings and congratulations on the 70th anniversary of the GOSR. With the takeover of power by the soviets of worker, peasant, and soldier deputies, a new era in mankind's history began.

The first victorious proletarian revolution fundamentally changed the course of world history. For the first time in the history of mankind, the elimination of capitalists' and landowners' power and setting up of workers' and peasants' power made possible the step from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom on one-sixth of the globe.

Setting up of the Soviet power, elimination of the exploitation of man by man, released hitherto unknown creative forces for construction of a truly free and humane society. Thus succeeded the hitherto unique historic achievement of transforming the economically most backward Russia into a modern socialist world power. The revolutionary deed of Russian workers, peasants, and soldiers led by Lenin, the party of the Bolsheviks, at the beginning of a new epoch in mankind's history, the era of revolutionary change, the revolutionary renewal of the world stands forever and unforgotten.

Everything which was achieved in the 70 years of the struggle for a just and dignified order could hardly have been guessed at in the hours of the storming of the Winter Palace. Yet the revolutionary forces in all parts of the world, including in Germany, felt and recognized the dawn of a new chapter in the history of mankind.

In response to the news of the victory of the Russian revolution, Karl Liebknecht wrote on 11 November, 1917: "The immense process of the social and economic revolutionizing of Russia...is not an end but a beginning. It faces unlimited opportunities—much greater than those of the great French revolution". The German left joined international solidarity with, as it was then called, Soviet Russia. The founded that line of tradition of fraternal alliance, which ranges from Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Leo Jogiches, Hugo Eberlein, Ernst Thaelmann, and Wilhelm Pieck to our days and which determines our thinking, action, and position.

We communists from the party of Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, and Walter Ulbricht stand firmly in the tradition of the Great October, whose first appeal was for peace. We are fulfilling the legacy of the heroes of the Red Army, of all fighters of the anti-Hitler coalition and of antifascist resistance, by having made our contribution to safeguarding of peace and renewal in human society of the fundamental concern of the first workers' and peasant state in German history. Always and at all times, the GDR will fight resolutely by the side of the Soviet Union for peace and socialism.

Even today, we communists and the people of the GDR are still proud that in the ranks of those who stormed the Winter Palace, the workers' battalions, the Red Guards, the young Red Army, German workers and soldiers fought for the victory of the October Revolution, for victory over the White Guards, over the interventionists. Unforgotten is the fraternization at the front which continues to be effective in our country.

We are pleased with the Soviet Union of today and its militant Communist Party, which is always striving for new objectives. We are pleased with the Soviet country 70 years after Red October, its strength, its courage, and its plans. We are proud of the friendship which links our peoples and states steadfastly and unites them in the fight for peace and socialism.

We know well, partly from our own experience, the difficult but also successful fight of the Soviet Union. The CPSU has in all the periods of its history, including the present one, been a party of innovators and of pioneers. It has embarked on unexplored paths and smoothed the way to socialism for all of mankind.

Never, comrades, shall we, the people of the GDR, forget that it was Soviet soldiers who brought liberation from Hitler fascism. With the flourishing of the GDR as a modern socialist state, we are at the same time honoring the more than 20 million victims among the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, in smashing the fascist beast.

Now the revolutionary impetus of Great October attains new dimensions and gains new strength. The resolutions of the 27th party congress and the 20 months which have passed since testify to this. The problems tackled by the CPSU concerning acceleration of socioeconomic development and resulting numerous measures for the renewal of social life in the Soviet Union, with the objective of lifting the material and cultural living standard of the Soviet people, meet not only with our admiration but also with our full support.

Meeting the tasks in acceleration of socioeconomic development in the Soviet Union is of decisive importance, in order to further strengthen the attraction of socialism in peaceful competition with the capitalist system.

The citizens of our republic, the workers, the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia, who are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution as their own day of celebration, are currently engaged with great enthusiasm in realizing resolutions of the 11th SED Party Congress which, as is known, was attended by Mikhail Sergeyvich Gorbachev. For the GDR party and state leadership, the focus in this is on further dynamic development of our national economy based on mastery of scientific-technological revolution, namely the application of key technologies, microelectronics, optoelectronics, sensor technology, computer technology, optical fiber technology, laser technology, and biochemistry.

In all of these decisive areas which make it possible to attain top achievements and at the same time to renew the production process, we are working hand in hand with your country. Thus, the GDR is the USSR's biggest and closest partner not only in trade, the volume of which between two states is unique in the world, but also in tackling the scientific-technological revolution. Already today, we can say that the end result will be to attain top achievements allowing us to break one imperialist embargo after another.

Obviously, this takes place on a broad basis of industrial and agricultural development which, in the GDR as well, is being tackled not without difficulties. However, we intend to maintain our position among the 10 strongest industrial nations of the world by increasing our yearly national income from between 4% and 5%, by increasing labor productivity on the basis of net production of 7% to 8%.

With the victorious October Revolution, the first decisive step was taken to liberate mankind from the scourge of war. For this, the Soviet Union has done immense things. In the USSR, in the socialist states, more and more people see today the guarantors for a lasting solution to the most burning issues of our time which will serve the peoples, above all for the preservation from the inferno of a nuclear war and for the safeguard of survival.

It may well be called symbolic that in the anniversary year of Red October there appears the real possibility of taking a first practical step toward nuclear disarmament. The GDR welcomes the agreed summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan on 7 December this year in Washington, where an agreement on the double-zero solution for nuclear medium range missiles is to be concluded, and reduction of strategic offensive weapons and strengthening of the ABM Treaty is to be negotiated further.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the Government, and the people of the GDR, I affirm our full support for all these initiatives, for the steady work of the Soviet party and state leadership in safeguarding peace. We shall continue to make our active contribution to implement the peace program which was developed further and supplemented by new elements at the latest Warsaw Pact summit in Berlin.

To consolidate and deepen the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community will always be for us a concern dear to our hearts. We are convinced that the diversity [nielfalt] developing in the world of socialism will result in the growing unity of the fraternal countries at a higher level. It is the pledge for new and still greater progress on the path of Red October, whose banner we are carrying jointly into the next millenium.

Glory and honor to the party and the country of Lenin. Long live the 70th anniversary of the GOSR.

Awarded Order of Lenin

LD011538 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1445 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 1 Nov (ADN)—Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo, presented on Sunday the Order of Lenin to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. The Soviet Union's highest award was presented to Erich Honecker on the occasion of his 75th birthday at the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Andrey Gromyko praised the merits of Erich Honecker. He called him a fellow fighter for socialism and friendship among the peoples. In the GDR, the future is being shaped on German soil of which Lenin had dreamed at the beginning of this century when he visitied Germany then, the speaker said. Erich Honecker has made a great contribution to unity and cohesion of the socialist community, for consolidation of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the parties, states, and peoples of the Soviet Union and GDR.

In his words of thanks, Erich Honecker emphasized that it is a special honor to accept the USSR's highest award a few days before the 70th anniversary of Red October in Moscow. He considered the award at the same time to be an expression of the high appreciation for the SED and the GDR people. The two parties and states are and will remain for ever true friends and allies. They are fighting on the same front for socialism and peace.

The award ceremony on the eve of the October celebrations took place in the Yekaterinokiy Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace. Present with Erich Honecker were the members of the GDR party and state delegation. The Soviet side was represented by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU central committee, Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Tengiz Menteshasvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Other dignitaries, including the ambassadors of the two states, were also present.

Gives Acceptance Speech

LD011758 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1600 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 1 Nov 87 ADN—The text of Erich Honecker's speech of thanks on receiving the Order of Lenin is as follows:

I am deeply moved and grateful for receiving the Order of Lenin, which was conferred upon me by a resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Lenin's name and his work are infinitely dear to us. He was the leader and organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the founder of the Soviet state, a theorist and a practician, patriot and internationalist, revolutionary fighter and humanist, a man such as history seldom produces. The developments and changes in the Soviet Union and in the world far beyond its frontiers, from the historic days of October 1917 up to the present day, are bound up in the most varied ways with his struggle and his heritage.

It is a particular honor for me to receive this, the highest honor of the Soviet Union, here in Moscow a few days before the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

You have rightly recalled Lenin's stay in Berlin. That was, as everyone knows, under different circumstances. Lenin's work has been victorious. Lenin's warm and close solidarity with the revolutionary German workers movement remains unforgotten, as well as his confidence in its victory. It fills us with pride that the socialist GDR has already been in a fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union for 38 years and that this is constantly being deepened.

In the distinguished honor conferred upon me, I at the same time see an expression of your high opinion of the SED and the people of the GDR. Our party and the CPSU, the GDR and the USSR are and will remain loyal friends and allies for all time. They are fighting on a front for socialism and peace. Be assured, dear Comrade Andrey Andreyevich [Gromyko], that I shall continue to devote all my strength to this noble, common cause. Thank you.

Polish Sejm Session Discusses Economic Reform

PM301315 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Facts, Events, Opinions" rubric: "Poland—Sejm Session"]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Oct—The Polish Sejm session, which is discussing important questions associated with reorganizing the central economic management organs within the framework of the transition to the second stage of economic reform, is continuing its work today in the Polish capital.

At yesterday's session deputies adopted a greetings message to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet people on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

After discussing the government program for implementing the second stage of economic reform, submitted at the previous Sejm session as the practical development of the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress, the deputies ratified 15 laws concerning the reorganization of the central organs for the management of the national economy. These documents envisage, in particular, enlarging ministries and departments and reducing their number and giving them new tasks and functions within the framework of boosting management efficiency, decentralizing the economy, and expanding the independence of enterprises and associations. A number of sectorial ministries have been amalgamated into new Ministries for Industry, Siting of Production Forces and Construction, the Navy and Communications, Economic Cooperation Abroad, the Domestic Market, and People's Education. At the same time, the Sejm formed the "Polish Coal" and "Polish Power Engineering" Associations, taking into consideration the key significance of these sectors for the country's economy.

The country's supreme legislative organ adopted a resolution "On the Detailed Specification of the Subject of the National Referendum" to be held 29 November this year. According to the resolution, two questions will have to be answered in the course of the referendum: Do you favor complete implementation of the program presented to the Sejm for radical improvement of the economy with the aim of perceptibly improving society's standard of living, realizing that this will demand passing through a difficult 2-3 year period of rapid changes. Do you favor the Polish model for the profound democratization of political life, whose aim is to strengthen self-management, extend citizen's rights, and broaden their participation in the country's management?

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, and other Polish leaders took part in the work of the Sejm.

Ends 2-Day Session

PM021515 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Polish Sejm Decision"]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Oct—Important resolutions reorganizing the central management organs of the national economy in order to increase its efficiency and speed up the pace of development were adopted at the 2-day session of the Polish Sejm which ended here today. W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, and other Polish leaders took part in its work.

Deputies at yesterday's session approved the greetings message sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The Sejm ratified changes in government personnel proposed by Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. The foreign, national defense, internal affairs, finance, and agriculture ministers retained their posts. M. Gorywoda and W. Gwiazda, deputy chairmen of the Polish Council of Ministers, and 15 ministers were released from their duties, 4 of the latter being appointed to posts in the new government.

CPSU Leaders Address PZPR Visitors

PM301235 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] A group of leading PZPR workers has visited the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute for the Exchange of Experience in Socialist Building. The sides discussed topical questions relating to party leadership of the processes of restructuring and accelerating socioeconomic development in the USSR and Poland. On the Polish side J. Baryla, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the heads of PZPR Central Committee departments, and the first secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees took part in this work.

The Polish comrades were addressed by B.N. Yeltsin, Y.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, A.I. Lukyanov, V.A. Medvedev, and G.P. Razumovskiy; the heads of CPSU Central Committee departments and first secretaries of party obkoms; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; and ministers, chairmen of USSR State Committees, and prominent academics.

A science and practice conference was held on the question of enhancing the role played by party organizations in development of local ties. The PZPR workers were acquainted with the activity of a number of oblast party organizations, visited memorial sites connected with V.I. Lenin's life and work, and took part in measures devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Kosovo Security Situation 'Has Worsened'

PM021507 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On Situation in Kosovo"]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct—A session of the SFRY Presidency has examined the political situation and state of security in the socialist autonomous province of Kosovo. It has been established, TANJUG reports, that as a result of intensification of hostile activity inspired by Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as activation of people who, in turn, are manipulating a certain discontent on the part of Serbians and Montenegrin, the atmosphere in Kosovo has worsened. There is also a danger of further complicating the situation, and a threat to security has arisen.

In view of this fact, the SFRY Presidency believes that the SFRY Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs should take measures to safeguard state security on Kosovo's territory. On the basis of the appropriate article of the law on the fundamentals of the system of state security, the SFRY Presidency has decided to send a militia detachment from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to the province's territory.

Romania's Ceausescu Backs INF Agreement

LD311430 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest October 31 TASS—The Socialist Republic of Romania acclaims and backs the Soviet-American understanding in principle on signing this year an agreement on liquidating intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, said at a meeting with heads of delegations participating in the 40th session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, under way in Bucharest.

The signing of such an agreement, the Romanian leader said, would be the first step towards complete liquidation of nuclear weapons, would lay grounds for expanding the campaign for tis destruction both in Europe and all over the world. Romania stands out for the World Federation of Trade Unions and union organizations in all countries to come out in a united front in the campaign for nuclear disarmament. This would conform to the interests of the working class, all working people and nations. Under the present-day international situation trade unions can become a powerful force in protecting the interests of working people, in the campaign for peace and disarmament and development of just and democratic relations between states.

West Germany's Genscher Visits Albania 23 Oct

PM031005 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Tirana—H.-D. Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister, completed a brief official visit to Albania 23 October. He was received by R. Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee and chairman of the Albanian People's Assembly Presidium; and A. Carcani, chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, and had talks with Foreign Minister R. Malile.

ATA reports that, touching on Albanian foreign policy and certain aspects of the international situation in his talk with H.-D. Genscher, R. Alia stressed that Albania advocates the creation of a genuine atmosphere of trust and friendship among peoples along with normal relations with all countries, taking account of mutual interests and respecting the principles regulating contacts between sovereign countries.

A. Carcani noted that establishment of diplomatic relations has created the conditions for developing relations between the two countries in various spheres. He briefed the guest on the successes of and prospects for the country's socioeconomic development.

During the talks, the two countries' foreign ministers discussed specific measures to develop relations in the field of the economy and trade.

West Europe

Moscow on USSR-Benelux Trade Session

LD021920 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] In Brussels, the session of the intergovernmental and mixed commission for economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the economic union of Belgium and Luxembourg has finished its work. Our correspondent in the Benelux countries, Kipras Mazheyka reports:

[Mazheyka] Today a comprehensive and business-like conversation was held about how to increase the volume of mutual deliveries and at the same time to improve the structure of goods. At the present moment, over 160 Belgian firms act as business partners of Soviet foreign trade organizations. Since the time that the long-term cooperation program between our countries has been implemented, which spans a 10-year period, the bilateral trade turnover has doubled. In total today, it amounts to over R1 billion. A significant figure, it would seem. Let us however, examine what it is composed of.

Three quarters of our export is taken up by deliveries of petroleum, petroleum products, uncut diamonds, and diamonds. Up to 60% of the import from the USSR is taken up by chemical products, ferrous metallurgy products, and general metal goods. However, the share of machines and equipment in our trade turnover so far is insignificant. Development of industrial cooperation technological exchange, cooperation in the markets of the third countries, and creation of joint enterprises are the promising forms which could promote strengthening of business links. During the talks with official representatives of Belgium and Luxembourg and meetings with business circles, the Soviet delegation discussed in detail the possibilities of using these forms in our relations. With this aim, the delegation paid visits to a series of Belgian firms now conducting negotiations with us regarding creation of joint enterprises on Soviet territory. In the course of the session, the sides presented fundamental questions on existing problems in our economic relations. A proposal was put forward to enhance existing links, including in the new directions of cooperation. The meeting in Brussels finished with the signing of the corresponding working documents.

Gorbachev Book Published in Netherlands

LD031015 Moscow TASS in English 0103 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] The Hague November 2 TASS— Spectrum, one of the biggest publishing houses in the Netherlands, has put out in Dutch the book *"Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World"* by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Today the official presentation of the book was held at the Soviet Embassy in the Hague. Speaking at the ceremony, Joost Bloemsma, Spectrum manager, said that after familiarizing themselves with Gorbachev's manuscript, they had been amazed at the depth of ideas and feelings expressed in it. The question on the need for publishing the book in the Netherlands was settled right away. The word "perestroyka", he noted is well known in the Netherlands, it firmly established itself in the international political lexicon.

J. Bloemsma told TASS correspondent Sergey Melnikov that thoughts and conclusions by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on the main issues of our times are of interest both for the Soviet people and for Western nations. The Dutch public, political and business quarters display broad interest in changes taking place in the USSR. Putting out the book in Dutch, the publishers proceeded from the fact that much in it should be comprehended and much can be learnt.

M. Gorbachev's book was translated and prepared for publication in a very short period of time. It was brought out in an edition of 45,000.

Soviet Officer Arrested for Espionage

LD301653 Hamburg DPA in German 1531 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—A Soviet officer was temporarily arrested in the U.S. sector of Berlin on Wednesday evening on suspicion of spying, and was expelled a short time later. The event, which became known through a report in the *Berliner Morgenpost*, was confirmed by the U.S. mission in response to questions. The German police were not involved, according to a spokesman of the Senate administration for internal affairs.

The U.S. version of events says that Major Nikolay Danilovich Pospelov was discovered near a military object of the U.S. Armed Forces while attempting to carry out espionage. Having established his identity, the staff officer with the group of Soviet Forces in Germany was handed over to Soviet representatives in East Berlin: The U.S. side lodged a protest with them about the espionage attempt.

West Germany 'Welcomes' Missile Ban Agreement

LD031007 Moscow TASS in English 2357 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Bonn November 2 TASS—The West German Federal chancellor welcomes the fact that the Soviet-American agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter- range missiles is going to be signed already in the beginning of December at the Soviet-American summit, Friedhelm Ost, the West German government's official spokesman, told a press conference in Bonn today.

He said that the federal chancellor thought that the agreement's conclusion should not remain an isolated event and that arms control efforts should be continued.

The West German chancellor welcomes the prospects of cutting American and Societ strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent and reducing the number of nuclear tests.

The West German head of government also hopes that a treaty banning chemical weapons will be concluded.

Genscher Stresses Need for Missile Accord

PM021439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Rational Cause"]

[Text] Bonn, 25 Oct—FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher has emphasized the urgent need for the attainment of an accord between the United States and the USSR on the strict interpretation of the ABM Treaty. Addressing a conference of leading organs of the Free Democratic Party, the party's so-called "little congress" held in Baden-Baden, he noted that U.S. Secretary of State Shultz's talks in Moscow a few days ago give grounds for optimism on the whole, despite the fact that a precise date for the next Soviet-U.S. summit was not agreed. The main thing, he said, was that unity of views was achieved on the question of the implementation of the "double-zero option," in which the problem of the Pershing 1-A nuclear missiles was resolved.

Eliminating medium-range and operational-tactical missiles is a responsible and rational cause for the USSR and the United States, H.-D. Genscher stated.

Zagladin To Take Part in FRG CP Events

PM021339 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the Invitation of FRG Communists"]

[Text] V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, has left Moscow for the FRG at the invitation of the German Communist Party Board.

He will take part in FRG communist events dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

More on Italian Peace Group in Moscow

PM031113 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Conversation in the Kremlin"]

[Text] On 26 October, A.A. Gromyko received a delegation from the International Center For Peace Between Peoples. The organization's headquarters is in the city of Assisi (Italy). The delegation comprised: Nicola Giandomenico, vicar [vikariy] of the Monastery of St Francis, (head of the delegation), Alessandra Colonna, student in the Law Faculty at Turin University, Anna Rita Vincenti, student in the Foreign Languages and Literature Faculty at Perugia University, and the Gianluca brothers and Fabrizio Panelli, students in the Physics Faculty at Perugia University.

The head of the delegation said that their center has sent small groups of representatives with peace messages to almost 40 countries—to practically all the capitals of European states. The Soviet Union is the first country to receive such a delegation. The Italian visitors expressed particular gratitude for this. The "Appeal to the Heads of European States" says:

"We ask you always to include the subject of peace in programs for your international meetings as your contribution to the cause of peace.

"We also ask you to propose a special meeting of heads of state wholly devoted to the cause of peace.

"We ask you, the heads of peoples, to make people clearly understand that they can expect peace to be achieved and to give them specific evidence and officially confirmed hope that the possibility exists of advancing to a civilization of peace."

On receiving the appeal, A.A. Gromyko stated that the arrival of the delegation indicates the sincere interest of various strata of the Italian people in the Soviet peace policy.

The Soviet Union is trying to do everything to remove the threat of another war. Each person on earth must realize that the nuclear danger exists and that a very great deal remains to be done to eliminate it.

It is good that both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches and representatives of other religions realize the danger threatening peace. We have heard statements showing comprehension of the nuclear threat, A.A. Gromyko noted, from the head of the Catholic Church during meetings in the Vatican. I met with Paul VI twice and John Paul II twice. It would be good if the leadership of the Catholic Church used all its influence to affirm life and prevent war.

As for the Soviet Union, our country is ready both now and in the future to maintain contacts with broad circles of foreign states at the most varied levels.

N. Giandomenico drew attention to the fact that the delegation is made up largely of young people. They want to advance and affirm the cause of peace in the future.

A.A. Gromyko stated that we, like you, think that everyone must have confidence in the future. The threat to peace is caused by people. Consequently, people themselves, not some other force, must also remove it.

Truth to tell, so to speak, some people are prepared to talk for hours about human rights and at the same time never mention the fact that man possesses his main right from birth—the right to life—and he needs to guarantee this right. Everyone, irrespective of political views, world outlook, and religious convictions, must also advocate this right.

When it is a question of international relations, people must now rise above transient immediate considerations. Each people, irrespective of whether they are large or small, must reject everything of secondary importance and advocate resolution of the main problem—prevention of nuclear war. This is the main thought of our foreign policy.

N. Giandomenico: We are also proceeding in this direction. Let us continue to follow this, the only just path.

A. Gromyko: Let's do that.

The guests were further told that Soviet people are tackling increasingly vigorously the pressing—and we bluntly say great—cause of restructuring all spheres of Soviet life. Hundreds of millions of citizens are involved in this process.

We regard the future with optimism. Many people abroad are increasingly beginning to regard what is happening in the Soviet Union and our foreign policy with understanding and approval. They are beginning to understand that no one abroad will be worse off as a result of what is happening in the USSR.

We are grateful for such an evaluation of our efforts by the peoples of European countries also. It is no coincidence that you also note our common interest in Europe's affairs. Finally as M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has stressed frequently in his statements, Europe is our common home. We wish you successes in improving the situation in Europe and consolidating peace in the European home, because you are performing noble work.

A. Colonna remarked that during its stay in Moscow, despite ideological differences, the delegation would like to establish contacts with Soviet youth in order to continue to develop them, especially since Italy is not far from the Soviet Union—only about 4 hours' flying time away.

A.A. Gromyko stated that in our belief nothing can impede friendly relations between the peoples of Italy and the Soviet Union, including between young people. He stressed that he voiced this thought taking into consideration the presence of the Italian ambassador in Moscow at this conversation.

The following attended the conversation: on the Soviet side—G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N.F. Rubtsov, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretariat; E.L. Kuzmin, deputy chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium International Ties Department; and Y.K. Silin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation; and on the Italian side—Sergio Romano, Italian ambassador in the USSR, and Giancarlo de Luigi, counselor at the Italian Embassy in the USSR.

Timber Industry Accord Signed With Finland

PM021833 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Protocols signed in Helsinki by the joint session of the four working groups on economic and scientific and technical cooperation in the sphere of the pulp and paper, timber, and wood processing industry open up broader prospects in the sphere of exchanging the latest technology and creating joint enterprises. These groups operate within the framework of the Soviet-Finnish intergovernmental standing commission on economic cooperation.

Meeting Held on Marine Research in Artic Sea

PM021259 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Oct 87 First Edition p 2

[Report by TASS correspondent I. Rekhimkulov: "The Sea—Arena for Cooperation"]

[Text] Murmansk—The state of the marine environment and the fish stocks of the Arctic seas were among problems studied during a joint scientific expedition mounted by Soviet and Norwegian biologists. Its results have been discussed at a meeting of scientists held in Murmansk.

"Large-scale research in the northern seas has been carried out by specialists of the Polar Scientific Research Instititute of the Marine Fish Industry and Oceanography and their colleagues from the Bergen Marine Research Institute for several years," said V. Shleynik, deputy director of the Soviet institute. "The present expedition was the biggest since our cooperation began. The two countries' scientific ships worked simultaneously on a single program in the Barents, Greenland, and Norwegian Seas. One of the expedition's main tasks was to determine the stocks of fish traditionally caught in northern waters—cod, haddock, halibut, bass, and smelt—whose shoals have suffered serious depletion in recent years."

Recommendations were made to fishermen on the most rational way to fish on the basis of the results of the joint research.

Greece's Papandreou Interviewed on Disarmament

PM021751 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA interview with Greek Prime Minister Papandreou: "A. Papandreou: Activating Dialogue on Disarmament. Greece's Prime Minister Has Given an Interview to IZVESTIYA"— date not given]

[Text] Athens—Question: The Soviet-U.S. accord in principle on concluding an agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles has brought the idea of nuclear disarmament closer to commencing its implementation. In your opinion, what should be the basic avenues for the "action six" to pursue universal and complete disarmament, taking into account the favorable prospects opening up in this sphere?

Answer: For the "action six" the recent accord in principle reached between the United States and the Soviet Union on elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles confirms the legitimacy of efforts and initiatives undertaken by us over a number of years to reduce international tension and promote disarmament. Eliminating these weapons is, undoubtedly, a huge success. This is the first historic step toward complete, universal nuclear disarmament, which, moreover, qualitatively changes the international climate by strengthening forces supporting disarmament.

But we should not rest content with the success achieved. The arms race has still not been stopped. Newer weapons are being added to the arms systems which are still being maintained in strategic arsenals.

We, the members of the "action six," believe that dialogue should be activated on disarmament with the aim of achieving new agreements, agreeing on measures, and settling problems in three basic directions:

in energetic reduction and future elimination of strategic arsenals capable, in spite of any military or other logic, of destroying our planet 10 times over; an immediate universal ban on nuclear tests;

preventing the militarization of space.

Question: It is essential for mankind to elaborate a comprehensive system of international peace and security. M.S. Gorbachev in a recently published article "Reality and the Guarantees of a Secure World" set out his thoughts on the possibilities and paths for implementing such a system. The ideas expressed by the Soviet side on the link between disarmament and development are also beginning to win recognition. Could you share your views on these questions?

Answer: The problems of international peace and security, the arms buildup and underdevelopment, and disarmament and development are closely connected.

The accumulation of more than enough means to destroy life on the planet, and the fact that the majority of its population are doomed to poverty, are vividly expressed symptoms of the crisis in the international community. These phenomena express the unjust, inhuman, and dangerous nature of our world structure.

Today, the Third World countries are simply exporting their natural resources to developed countries. In practice, this means that mankind is sliding toward historically unprecedented impoverishment so as to finance the creation of means for its destruction.

Of course, here we are concerned with a mechanism which is nothing other than an automatically operating economic process. In many instances, decisions to increase arms as a result do not even serve military purposes but are dictated by purely economic, industrial, trade, and technological aspirations.

Capital investment in the military business assists improvement of the economic situation, at least for a short period, by providing a profitable and secure exit from the difficulties with guaranteed profits and markets.

But, aside from anything else, this type of economic logic leads in the long-term to deadlock, to purely unproductive investments, and also economically limits the potential opportunities of the purchasers of the industrial countries' output. In addition to this, as history shows, this means of overcoming economic difficulties has always led to war.

For these reasons, a turning point is essential in distribution of world resources, which would ensure that they are used not for financing a catastrophe but for balanced development. But in addition to this, until such time as all existing motive forces of the arms race and wars are eliminated, we must adopt all necessary measures to strengthen the international security system, which would be collective in character and would not be an instrument to subordinate the weak countries to the strong. It is also essential to agree without delay on the basis of collective efforts to allocate a certain part of the developed countries' national income and military expenditure to satisfy the elementary and most vital needs of the poorest countries.

From this standpoint, I positively assess the Soviet proposals on collective security, which could initiate a fruitful international dialogue. I think they are having an impact. I believe that the aspect of today's Soviet Union is producing a favorable impression, alleviating enormously efforts of all fighters for peace and dispelling slowly but surely hostile stereotypes nurtured by the cold war.

Question: As is known, the Soviet Union has put forward a number of initiatives to create a zone of stable peace and cooperation in the Mediterranean region, proposing, in particular, to end the foreign military presence, eliminate nuclear weapons in the region, and—with this aim—convene a broad international conference on the Mediterranean. As we understand it, these questions are urgent for Greece, too. How do you conceive the prospects for their progress?

Answer: We are against the presence of foreign navies, troops, and bases in the Mediterranean basin and support any efforts directed at their withdrawal and the strengthening of peace in the region. But peace cannot last while the threat of war still exists, and while the decisions of the United Nations on such questions as the Near East and Cypriot problems exist only on paper.

Thus, if we want peace and tranquillity in the Mediterranean, then such problems such as the continuing Turkish military occupation of part of Cyprus must be resolved in parallel with the problem of the presence of non-Mediterranean forces in the region.

Question: How do you see the prospects for development of Soviet-Greek relations?

Answer: Soviet-Greek relations have developed impressively in recent years, setting an example to the entire world today of good relations between countries belonging to different blocs.

In the sphere of politics, both sides have continued to communicate information to each other which has assisted the better understanding of positions we hold on different political questions, and also our approaches to major international problems. The mutual interest of the two governments on particular questions which for us are paramount—such as the gradual move toward complete nuclear disarmament, stopping and banning nuclear tests, keeping the arms race out of space, the need to ease tension and for international cooperation—has also undoubtedly played a considerable role in development of our political relations.

The agreement between our countries on building an alumina plant in Greece is a significant step in developing bilateral economic relations.

True, there are still enormous reserves for further development of economic and trade cooperation, and we are hopeful of such development.

Ambassador to Turkey Queried on Cyprus, Arms

NC021337 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 28 Oct 87 p 9

[Report on "exclusive" interview with USSR Ambassador to Turkey, Labert Sergeyevich Chernishev, by HURRIYET correspondent Yurdakul Fincanci in Ankara; date not given]

[Text] The new Soviet ambassador to Turkey, Albert Sergeyevich Chernishev, has given the first signs of a serious change in Soviet diplomacy toward Turkey within the framework of Gorbachev's glasnost policy. While officials continue to debate, former NATO Commander in Chief General Bernard Rogers' remark that "NATO cannot defend Turkey against a Soviet attack," Ambassador Chernishev has disclosed that the Soviet Union is pursuing a flexible and not a hard-line policy on the following three important problems which concern Turkey:

1. The Cyprus question

2. The Turkish minority in Bulgaria

3. The Turkish demand that the Caucasus be included within the framework of talks being held between the Eastern and Western bloc countries for reducing conventional forces.

The views the ambassador expressed in connection with the three problems indicate that positive developments can take place in relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union, just as in the case of favorable developments which have taken place in East-West relations as a result of Gorbachev's glasnost policy. Ambassador Chernishev said that "if the basis of the relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union could be expanded, the two countries would not be confronted with difficulties in resolving their bilateral problems."

We first asked Ambassador Chernishev to explain why the Soviet Union insisted on convening an international conference on the Cyprus question. He said the following:

"I am convinced that, deliberately or not, the Soviet attitude is being wrongly interpreted. I am not saying that this is the way you are approaching the matter. In general, this is the way it is being interpreted. The question you have asked has created a good opportunity to explain the Soviet approach. The Soviet stance is based on two viewpoints, the first of which is that the two communities in Cyprus must reach an agreement between themselves and decide their future. Someone is deliberately misinterpreting our approach. The second is related to convening an international conference to help resolve the Cyprus problem. The objective of the conference should be to help the Greek and Turkish Cypriots reach joint decisions. The conference to be convened should be able to guarantee joint decisions the two sides will adopt. Its objective should not be to impose certain decisions on the Turkish and Greek Cypriots."

[Fincanci] Can the call made for convening an international conference be linked with a Soviet desire to have a right of say over Cyprus, which is in a region outside the sphere of Soviet influence?

[Chernishev] "Insofar as territory is concerned, we are not interested in Cyprus at all."

[Fincanci] How about the question of political influence?

[Chernishev] "No. The Soviet Union is not interested in Cyprus, politically nor militarily. Is it the Soviet Union or other countries which maintains troops in Cyprus?"

[Fincanci] I had the following in mind when I asked the question: The Soviet Union has a lot of international responsibilities. By asking for an international conference, has not the Soviet Union created the impression that it wishes to assume additional international responsibilities?

[Chernishev] "The Soviet interest in Cyprus is related to the establishment of peace on the island."

[Financi] A continuous effort has been made to establish peace between the two communities in Cyprus in the past. However, nothing has been achieved. Consequently, the Turkish Cypriots established their own state. The Soviet Union was one of the first to oppose it. If I am not mistaken, one of the basic principles of Leninism calls for recognition of the peoples' right to self-determination. The first thing Lenin did when he came to power in 1917 was to allow Finland to determine its own future. If Lenin's principles are still valid, then why has the Soviet Union opposed the TRNC?

[Chernishev] "Why are you always approaching matters with negative questions? Why is ill-intent attributed to the Soviet Union? As in the era of Lenin, the Soviet Union recognizes that nations have the right of self-determination. Yes, this right was given to Finland at the time. We recognize that the Turks in Cyprus have this right as well. All of the people in Cyprus have this right. We are convinced that self-determination must be within the framework of the island. It could be federal or another system. But the people must live together."

[Fincanci] Mr. Ambassador, can I draw the following conclusion from what you have said? If a way cannot be found to enable the two communities in Cyprus to live in peace, the Soviet Union agrees in principle that the two communities, that is, the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot communities, have the right to decide their own future?

[Chernishev] "We consider the problem from the point of view that the territorial integrity of Cyprus should be maintained. The question as to what form the state should be, whether federal or another system, is a matter which concerns the two communities. The rights of the two communities must be determined and safeguarded within this framework. We support a Cyprus which will maintain its territorial integrity and nonaligned status, and which will respect the interests of its two communities."

[Fincanci] If unity cannot be established, will the Soviet Union agree in principle to support the two communities' rights to self-determination?

[Chernishev] "At this stage, I do not deem it necessary to look so far into the future. The question at the present time is whether or not it will be possible to establish unity. As far as I am concerned, Turkey does not support the division of Cyprus."

[Fincanci] On the other hand, there is the reality that the two communities are not living together. What I would like to know is whether or not the Soviet Union would be opposed in principle to the two communities' right to self-determination if unity cannot be achieved?

[Chernishev] "No, we are not opposed. We are not opposed to the right of the two communities."

One of the points we discussed with the new Soviet ambassador, which concerned Turkey, was the problem related to the zones that will be included within the framework of talks that will be held on the question of reducing conventional forces. The Soviet Union favors Turkey's inclusion as a whole. However, the plan NATO has drawn up excludes eastern and southeastern Turkey from the talks. Turkey, on the other hand, favors inclusion of the Caucasus in the zone, which will start from the Atlantic and stretch to the Ural Mountains. The way Ambassador Chernishev talked indicated that the Soviet Union would adopt a flexible approach.

Replying to a question as to whether the Soviet Union would adopt a flexible policy in its approach toward Turkey's view that the Caucasus should be included within the framework of talks to be held on the question of reducing conventional forces, Ambassador Chernishev asserted the following:

"You wish to know the zones in which conventional forces will be reduced. But no one can say anything about that now. The talks are continuing. The sides have explained their views. An era of lengthy discussions has begun. Of course, an agreement will be reached in the end."

[Fincanci] Can I draw the conclusion from what you have said that the Soviet Union may comply with Turkey's request to include the Caucasus region within the zone in which conventional forces will be reduced?

[Chernishev] "Not for the time being. This is due to the fact that as an ambassador I defend the official Soviet viewpoint. However, as an individual, I can say the following: Talks can be held, and an agreement can be reached."

[Fincanci] Isn't it logical that if one of the two sides is going to reduce the number of its troops and arms, the other should do the same?

[Chernishev] "Naturally, if an arms imbalance exists, it should be removed."

The third question we asked was related to the Bulgarian Government's negative attitude toward the Turkish minority in Bulgaria and how that situation could be ended. It was also related to the approach to be made to resolve the problem. We also asked whether the Soviet Union will adopt a positive approach toward the question of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria—an approach similar to that it pursued in connection with the release of Mustafa Suleymanoglu, the Bulgarian Turk who sought refuge in the Turkish Embassy in Moscow and who waited 2 and one-half years until he was allowed to travel to Turkey recently.

Ambassador Chernishev first regarded the question, "Since Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are members of the same economic and military pacts, cannot the Soviet Union influence Bulgaria by its suggestions, regardless of the fact that Bulgaria is an independent country?" as a deliberate question. However, he later laughed and said the following:

"The question of Suleymanoglu has been settled in a favorable way, which has satisfied the sides concerned. As the Soviet Union was concerned, it was just one of the thousands of humanitarian problems in the world. It is common knowledge that we have been following an open policy on humanitarian matters since the Helsinki Accord. Whenever we come across such problems, particularly those related to the reunion of families, we try to resolve them with a sincere approach. Although this is our attitude, it is impossible to describe the U.S. approach on humanitarian issues in a similar way. We explained this to George Shultz when he visited Moscow. He informed us that they were prepared to consider the claims concerning human rights violations in the United States."

[Fincanci] A human rights problem exists in Bulgaria at the present time. Resolving it as quickly as possible will be in the interest of both Turkey and Bulgaria, not to mention the Soviet Union, an ally of Bulgaria. Can the Soviet Union influence that country by its suggestions?

[Chernishev] I must point out that this is a very delicate matter. Any country may have a number of internal problems, with regard to which foreign interference would be rejected. For example, we have the Crimean Tartars problem. We are trying to resolve it, but we would not like any country to interfere in our affairs.

[Fincanci] Apart from the Soviet Union, no other country is concerned with the question of the Crimean Tartars. However, Turkey is closely concerned with the problem of the Turks in Bulgaria. In view of this, cannot the Soviet Union help resolve the matter? Wouldn't this be in the interest of the Soviet Union?

[Chernishev] "What we are really interested in is the maintenance of good relations between Turkey and Bulgaria. We discuss many problems with Bulgaria. Our views are very close on many issues. However, do you disclose the contents of your meetings with the Americans? Exaggerations by the press only worsen the problems. Many problems can be resolved without a clamor in the press. For example, the question of having the Turkish children in Bulgaria reunited with their families in Turkey has been resolved. They are being sent to Turkey. The Soviet Union is pursuing a more open policy on humanitarian issues. It is easier to resolve problems without a clamor in the press."

Ambassador Chernishev said that Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit Turkey during the first half of 1988 and not during the current year. He added that the problem halting construction of the new Turkish Embassy building in Moscow and the Soviet Embassy housing complex in Ankara will be resolved in a favorable way in the near future. Furthermore, Chernichev asserted that he had consulted with the U.S. Embassy under secretary regarding the reports that U.S. Consulate officials held a poll on the elections in Turkey. The Soviet ambassador added that the under secretary did not confirm the reports.

Asked "whether the Soviet Union had conducted a poll as well," Ambassador Chernishev replied in the negative. When asked to predict "the outcome of forthcoming elections in Turkey," Chernishev said the following: "Isn't it true that the polls published by the Turkish newspapers indicate that Ozal will win the elections?"

Gorbachev Speech to GOSR Meeting

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[Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the festive meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Dear Comrades! Esteemed foreign guests! Seven decades separate us from the unforgettable days of October 1917, from those legendary days that became the starting point of a new epoch of human progress and the true history of mankind. October is truly mankind's hour genius and its morning dawn. The October Revolution is a revolution of the people and for the people, for man, for his liberation and development. Seven decades are quite a short time span in the ascent of the world's civilization over many centuries. Yet by the scale of what has been achieved history has not yet known a period comparable to the one our country has experienced since the victory of the Great October Revolution. There is no honor higher than to go the way of pioneers and to give all one's strength, energy, knowledge, and abilities for the sake of the triumph of October's ideas and goals. [applause]

An anniversary is a time to be proud, to be proud of what has been achieved. Very hard trials have befallen us, and we have borne them with honor, and not simply borne them but have wrested the country from devastation and backwardness, we have made it into a mighty power, we have transformed life, and have changed man's spiritual world beyond recognition. In the fiercest battles that the 20th century has seen we have defended the right for our own way of life and protected our future. It is with complete justification that we are proud, too, of the fact that our revolution, work, and struggle are continuing to exert profound influence on all aspects of world development, politics and economics, the social sphere, and the minds of our contemporaries. An anniversary is a time for remembering those millions of people, each of whom contributed to our common socialist achievements, those who smelted steel, sowed grain, taught children, advanced science and technology, attained the highest levels in art, and also for remembering with sadness those who fell defending the motherland and who paid with their lives for making society's progress possible; for the indelible memory of what we have gone through and lived through, for all this has created the present day.

An anniversary is a moment for reflection on how our affairs and fate were sometimes formed in a difficult and complex manner. There has been everything: both the heroic and the tragic, great victories and bitter failures. We are reflecting on 70 years of intensive creation from the position of a people who are prepared to mobilize all their strength and all the immense potential of socialism for the revolutionary transformation of life.

An anniversary is also a look into the future. Our achievements are magnificent, weighty and significant. They are a solid foundation and a basis for new accomplishments and the further development of society. It is precisely in the development of socialism and the continuation of the ideas and practice of the Leninism of October that we see the essence of our present affairs and concerns and our paramount task and moral obligation. This dictates the need for a serious and thorough analysis of the historical importance of October, of everything that has been done in the seven post-October decades. [applause]

Comrades, Comrades: Our pioneering path is immense and complex; it cannot be grasped or embraced in a brief analysis. The severity of the material and moral legacy of the old world, of World War I and the Civil War and the intervention; the novel nature of the transformations, the hopes of people linked to them, and the tempo and scale of invasion by the new and unaccustomed, which on occasions left no time to look around and reflect; and the subjective factors which play a particular part in periods of revolutionary storms; views of the future, permeated with the maximalism of revolutionary times, at times oversimplified and straightened out, and the pure, unrestrained desire of the fighters for a new life to do everything as quickly, well and justly as possible. The path that has been trodden, and its heroism and drama, cannot help but excite the minds of our contemporaries. We have one history; it is irreversible. And whatever emotions it arouses, it is our history, and it is dear to us. [applause]

Today, we turn to the October days that shook the world and we look for and find in them both a firm spiritual support and instructive lessons. Again and again we become convinced of the rightness of the socialist choice made by October. The objective logic itself of the historical progress of mankind led to this frontier. The October Revolution, for all the contradictoriness and the many variations of the path of civilization's forward movement, was the logical result of the development of the ideas and practice of the centuries-old struggle of the working people for freedom and peace and for social justice against class, national and spiritual oppression. The year 1917 showed that the choice between socialism and capitalism is the main social alternative of our age and that there is no way to advance in the 20th century without moving toward a higher form of social organization, to socialism. This fundamental Leninist conclusion is no less topical today than when it was reached. Such is the logical pattern of forward social development. The revolution in Russian became, as it were, the pinnacle of aspirations of liberation, the living embodiment of the dreams of mankind's best minds from the great humanists of the past to the proletarian revolutionaries of the 19th and 20th centuries. The year 1917 absorbed the energy of the people's struggle for their own development and independence, of the progressive national movements and the peasant risings and wars against serfdom that are typical of our history. It embodied the spiritual quests of the enlighteners of the 18th century, the heroes and martyrs of the Decembrist movement, the ardent tribunes of revolutionary democracy, and the heroic moral endeavor of the great figures of our culture. For our country's destiny, there was a determining significance in the time when, at the dawn of the 20th century, Vladimir Ilich Lenin led a closely serried group of like-thinkers on the road toward creating a proletarian party of a new kind in Russia. And it was precisely this great Leninist party that raised the people and its best and honorable forces to storm the old world.

The foundation of October's success was the cornerstone laid by the first Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1907. Here were the bitter lessons of 9 January and the desperate heroism of Moscow's December barricades, the feat of thousands of freedom fighters, known and unknown, and the birth of the first workers' soviets, the prototype of Soviet power. The victory of Great October grew out of the gains of the February 1917 Revolution that was the first triumphant popular revolution of the age of imperialism.

Following the February victory the development of the revolution proceeded with incredible speed. In it the main characters were the workers and peasants, clad in soldiers' overcoats. The spring of 1917 showed the might of the nationwide movement. At the same time there were displayed its limitations, the contradictions of revolutionary consciousness at that stage, the forces of historical inertia as a result of which the exploiting classes that were departing from the stage were able for a time to make use of the fruits of the people's victory. The February Revolution placed the major weapon into the hands of October, the organization of power in the form of the reborn soviets. February was the first experience of real democracy and the political education of the masses in practice which was acquired in the very complex conditions of dyarchy. February was unique in its opportunity for the peaceful transfer of power to the hands of the working people, an opportunity that did not, sadly, become a reality because of the historical circumstances. February was a most important historical stage on the road to October.

In the complex intertwining and confrontation of the class forces that took part in the February Revolution, Lenin brilliantly perceived the opening opportunity for the victory of a socialist revolution. The April Theses were the scientific foresight of and a model for the revolutionary program of action in those historical conditions. Lenin demonstrated not only the logic of the development of bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution but the form of that process as well, via the soviets, via their becoming Bolshevik, the essence of which lay in assisting the people, the masses, to comprehend the meaning of their own struggle and to bring about revolution consciously and in their own interests. The path from February to October was a time of swift social changes, a time when the masses rapidly became politically mature and the forces of the revolution and its vanguard, the Leninist party, became consolidated.

In that period from February to October, there manifested itself with special force the political skill of Lenin and his comrades-in-arms, who gave an instructive lesson regarding the living dialectic of revolutionary thought and action. The party leadership demonstrated an ability to make a collective creative quest and to renounce stereotypes and slogans which only yesterday in a different situation had seemed indisputable and the only possible ones.

It can be said that the very flow of Lenin's thought, the whole activity of the Bolsheviks, which was distinguished for its quick change of forms and methods of work, flexibility and unconventionality of tactical solutions, and political boldness, is a most brilliant model of antidogmatic, genuinely dialectic and thus new thinking. Thus and only thus do real Marxist-Leninists think and act, especially during crucial, critical times when the destinies of revolution and peace, socialism, and progress are being decided. [applause]

Let us return to April 1917. Lenin's program of a turn to socialist revolution seemed to many, friends and foe alike, a Utopia, virtually the fruit of unrestrained fantasy. But life showed that only such a program could have become and did in fact become the political foundation for the further development of the revolution and essentially the foundation of social salvation and prevention of national disaster.

Let us remember the days of July 1917. With what pain the party was forced to abandon the slogan of handing all power to the soviets. But it was impossible to act in any other way, for the soviets had found themselves for some time in the hands of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and powerless in the face of the counterrevolution. How sensitively Vladimir Ilich Lenin kept his hand on the pulse of the revolution, how brilliantly he determined the beginning of a new revival of the soviets which in the process of struggle acquired a truly popular essence, which enabled them to become organs of the victorious armed uprising and later also a political form of workers' and peasants' power.

All that is not merely pages from the chronicle of the Great Revolution. It is also a continual reminder to us, living now, of the lofty duty of the Communists to be always on the cutting edge of events, to be able to make bold decisions, to assume full responsibility for the present and the future. [applause]

The October Revolution was a mighty upsurge of millions of people uniting the fundamental interests of the working class, the age-old aspirations of the peasantry, the thirst for peace of soldiers and sailors, the unquenchable craving of the peoples of multinational Russia for freedom and light. In the intricate tangle of various interests the Bolsheviks' party was able to find the most important thing and unite conflicting trends and aspirations, directing them to the solution of the main question of the revolution, the question of power. In its very first decrees, on peace and land, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat replied in deed to the demands of the times, expressed the profoundest interests not only of the working class but of the absolute majority of the people, too.

Yet another most important and fundamental lesson of the October days needs to be recalled today. Lenin's answer to the question asked by life and revolutionary activity is in our times unusually topical. This is the question about the correlation between the theoretical model of the path toward socialism and the actual practice of socialist construction. As a creative teaching, Marxism-Leninism is not a collection of ready-made recipes and doctrinaire instructions. Far from being a narrow-minded dogma, Marxist-Leninist teaching provides an active interaction between innovative theoretical thinking with practice and with the course of revolutionary struggle itself. The Great October is a most instructive example of that.

As is known, many people, even major figures of the workers' movement of that time, refused to see the October Socialist Revolution as a natural phenomenon, alleging that it had happened contrary to the rules, not in accordance with the theoretical views that had taken shape. According to their conceptions, Russian capitalism had not created by October 1917 all the necessary material and cultural prerequisites for socialism. I believe it is instructive and useful to recall Lenin's reply to such criticis of our revolution. You are saying that to create socialism you need to have civilization, he retorted. Very well. But why were we unable first to create in our country such prerequisites of civilization as the expulsion of landowners and the expulsion of Russian capitalists and then start moving toward socialism? Those who interpret Marxism in a dogmatic and pedantic way are unable to understand the main thing in this teaching, its revolutionary dialectics.

It is precisely these dialectics that distinguish the entire post-October activity of Lenin; it was precisely these dialectics that helped to accomplish, literally on the border between the possible and the impossible, the political and moral feat of the Brest Peace Treaty that saved thousands and thousands of lives and the very existence of the socialist fatherland.

Another example: As both Marx and Engels had been, Lenin was convinced that the people's militia would become an armed defense of the revolution, but the specific conditions dictated another solution. The Civil War imposed upon the people and the outside intervention demanded a new approach, and by Lenin's decree the workers' and peasants' Red Army was created. That was an army of a new type which gained immortal glory in the Civil War and the repulse of the foreign intervention. [applause]

These years brought severe tests for the young Soviet regime. In all its simplicity and severity the question arose of whether socialism was to be or not to be. The party rallied and mobilized the people to defend the socialist fatherland and the gains of October. The starving, ill-clad, ill-shod, and poorly-armed Red soldiers routed the well-trained and armed counterrevolutionary army, which was being abundantl, fed by imperialists of the West and the East. The burning boundary of the Civil War passed through the whole country and every family and plowed up again the habitual way of life, psychology, and fate of the people. In this fight to the death the will of the people and the urge of millions for a new life won through. [applause]

The country did everything to help the young army. It lived and acted under the slogan put foward by Lenin: Everything for victory! The feat of the legendary heroes, the brave sailors and men of the cavalry armies, the soldiers and commanders of the young Red Army and Red partisans, will remain in our memory for ever. They defended the revolution. Eternal glory to them! [applause]

The decision on the New Economic Policy [NEP] is also permeated with the most profound revolutionary dialectics. It substantially expanded the horizons of conceptions of socialism and ways of building it. Or take the following issue: As is known, Vladimir Ilich Lenin criticized the limitations of cooperative socialism. In the specific conditions that arose after October as a result of the people gaining power, he looked afresh at this issue. The article on cooperative societies elaborates the thesis of socialism as a society of civilized cooperative members. Such were the strength, the boldness of Marxist dialectics, which expressed the very essence of revolutionary learning, and which Lenin wielded so brilliantly. He held that in creating a new world more than once we would have occasion to finish off, redo, and start afresh. Yes, more than once we have had occasion to finish off and redo what has been started, to endure a lengthy and sustained struggle, to go through historical processes of a reversing and revolutionary nature representing turning points, and they have done much to change the circumstances and conditions of our movement forward. They have also changed us ourselves; they tempered us, enriched us with experience and knowledge, and inspired us with even greater confidence in the success of the cause of the revolution. In assessing on a worldwide historical scale the headway we have made, one is convinced again and again: In a short time we have done what others needed centuries to do. [applause]

The socialist revolution was accomplished in a country with an average level of capitalist development, a high concentration of industry, a predominantly peasant population and deep remnants of feudalism and even earlier social structures. Russia had given the world major achievements in the sphere of science and culture, but three-fourths of its population were illiterate. The country had been ravaged to the extreme by the imperialist war and undistinguished leadership. Construction of the new life had no models; it required a tireless search for creative solutions.

The goal was clear for the party of Communists: Revolution and the path of socialism, soviet power. Lenin led the party along this path. The principles and norms of the future socialist system and forms of organizing society which were unprecedented in history crystalized in the lively creativity of the masses and the most complex material of Russia with its many structures. What were at first purely theoretical ideas about forms of people's power, means and limits of the socialization of property, organization of socialist production, setting up new, comradely discipline, and the place and role of the person in the new society were put into more precise form and filled with real living content.

The main meaning of October was the creation of a new life. It did not break off for a single day, and even a short respite was used to build and seek ways toward the socialist future. The beginning of the twenties was marked with a great take-off by the people's initiative and creativity. They became a genuine revolutionary laboratory of social innovation, the search for optimal forms for the alliance between the working class and the laboring peasantry and the shaping of a mechanism for implementing the whole spectrum of the interests of laboring people. The party went over from the war-communism methods of organizing production and consumption, which were applied of necessity in the conditions of war and destruction, to more flexible, economically based and regular instruments of influencing social reality. The NEP measures were directed at constructing the material foundations of socialism.

We are now turning increasingly often to Lenin's last works and to the Leninist ideas of the NEP and are striving to take from that experience everything that is valuable and necessary for us today. Of course, it would be erroneous to equate the NEP with what we are doing at present, at a fundamentaly different stage of development. We do not have in the country today those individual peasant farmers, the arrangement of an alliance with whom determined the most pressing goals of economic policy in the twenties. But the NEP had a more far-reaching aim, too. The task was set of constructing a new society, not directly on enthusiasm, as Lenin wrote, but with the help of the enthusiams brought fourth by the great revolution, on personal interest, personel involvement and financial autonomy. This is what life and the objective course of the development of the revolution told us.

Talking about the NEP's creative potential, we must obviously talk once more about the political and methodological wealth of the ideas of tax in kind. We, of course, are not attracted by its forms then, which were intended to ensure a union of workers and peasants, but by the opportunities contained in the idea of tax in kind of liberating the creative energy of the masses, raising the initiative of people and removing bureaucratic obstacles restricting the operation of the basic principle of socialism: From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor.

The socialist construction begun under Lenin's leadership brought a great deal that was fundamentally new. For the first time in world history, the methods of planned economic management were worked out and applied. The State Plan for the Electrification of Russia [GOELRO] was truly the opening up of, and an entire stage in the progress of world economic thought and practice; not only an immense plan of electrification, but a plan devised by Lenin to combine harmoniously agriculture, industry, and transportation in a comprehensive program—to put it in contemporary terms—for the deployment and development of the country's productive forces. Lenin described it as the party's second plan, a plan of work to create the entire national economy, and to bring it up to a modern level of technology.

A new culture was born, one which encompassed both the experience of the past and the variegated boldness and originality of talents and bright individualities which the revolution brought into play and inspired in the service of the people.

Lenin's initial stage of formation of a multinational state of the soviets is of abiding importance for us, not only through its results but also through experience and methodology. When reflecting about the time when socialist Russia would emerge from the Russia of NEP, Lenin was not able, nor did he try, to set himself the task of drawing a picture of the future of society in minute detail. But the actual ways and means of progress toward socialism, by way of establishing mechanized industry, wide-ranging unification into cooperatives, involving everyone of the working masses in governing the state and organizing the work of the state apparatus on the principle of: It is better to do a little but to do it well, by way of the cultural development of the entire mass of the people and strengthening the federation of free nations without falsehood and force. It is precisely this which was aimed at determining the shape of the country which was moving on to a fundamentally new level of social order.

A system of views upon, and the actual concept of, construction of socialism in our country took shape in Lenin's last works, which were endowed with an unusual degree of intellectual and emotional concentration. This comprises the party's great theoretical wealth.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin's premature death was a profound shock for all the party and the Soviet people. Grief exceeded all bounds; the loss was irreparable; everyone understood this. Tasks of colossal historical significance lay ahead. Without Lenin, but relying on his teachings and behests, the party leadership had to seek the optimum solutions capable of consolidating the achievements of the revolution and bringing the country to socialism, in the specific conditions of the Soviet Russia of that time.

History delivered a harsh ultimatum to the new order: either to survive by creating in the shortest possible time its own socioeconomic and technical base and to give mankind its first experience of a just organization of society, or to burn out and remain in the memory of the ages as, at best, only a heroic but unsuccessful social experiment. The question of bringing about socialist transformations at an accelerated speed, first and foremost, assumed a vitally important and, in the full sense of the word, fateful significance. The period after Lenin, the twenties and thirties, occupied a special place in the history of the Soviet state. In about 15 years or so, radical social changes were brought about.

So much was accommodated in these years, both from the viewpoint of searching for the optimal variants of socialist construction, and from that of actual achievements and the creation of the foundations of a new society. These were years of persistent labor at the limits of human possibilities and of keen struggle at a multitude of levels. Industrialization, collectivization, cultural revolution, strengthening the multinational state, establishing the USSR's international positions, new forms of running the economy and all social life—all of this fell precisely on this period, and all of this had far-reaching consequences. Over the decades we return again and again to this time. This is natural, for it was then that the first socialist society in the world was built. This was a feat of historic dimensions and historic significance. Admiration for the feats of our fathers and grandfathers, assessments of our real achievements, will live for ever like these same feats and achievements. [applause]

If today we look into our history with an occasionally critical gaze, it is only because we want to get a better, a fuller idea of our path into the future. It is essential to evaluate the past with a sense of historical responsibility and on the basis of historical truth. This has to be done first by virtue of the enormous importance of those years for the destiny of our state and for the destiny of socialism; second, because these years lie at the center of discussions of many years' standing, both in our country and abroad, in which, along with a quest for the truth, attempts are often made to discredit socialism as a new social system, and as a real alternative to capitalism; finally, we need truthful evaluations of this and of all the other periods of our history, especially at the present time, when restructuring has got under way. They are needed not to settle political scores, or cause suffering, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations.

And so to the twenties and thirties after Lenin. Regardless of the fact that the party and society were equipped with Lenin's conception of building socialism and with the work of Vladimir Ilich Lenin after the October period, the quest for a path was very difficult in a keen ideological struggle and an atmosphere of political discussions. The central place in these discussions came to be occupied by the fundamental problems of the development of society, primarily, the question of the possibility of building socialism in our country. Theoretical thought and practice were searching: Along which avenues and in what forms are social and economic transformations to be effected? How was their solution to be guaranteed on a socialist basis, in the specific historical conditions in which the Soviet Union found itself? There was placed on the agenda practical, constructive work which required the highest sense of responsibility. First and foremost, the question arose in acute form of the industrialization of the country and the reconstruction of the economy, without which socialist construction and the strengthening of defense capability were unthinkable. This followed from Lenin's direct instructions and from his theoretical legacy. In this same context and also in accordance with Lenin's behests, the question arose of socialist transformations in rural areas. It was thus a question of the most major, crucial matters, problems and tasks. And although the party, I repeat, had at its disposal Lenin's directions on these questions, keen discussions developed around them.

Perhaps it is worth mentioning that both before and after the revolution in the first years of socialist construction, far from all party leaders shared Lenin's views on a number of most important issues. Besides, Lenin's recommendations could not cover all specific questions of the construction of a new society.

When analyzing ideological disputes of the time, one has to bear in mind the fact that carrying out gigantic revolutionary reforms in such a country as Russia at that time was in itself a most difficult task. The country was on a historic march, its development was sharply accelerating, and all aspects of social life were changing rapidly and profoundly. An ideological struggle that was reflecting the whole gamut of the interests of the classes, social groups, and strata, the demands and tasks of the time, historical traditions and the pressure of urgent tasks, and also the conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement—that ideological struggle was interwined indissolubly with events and processes in the economy, in politics and in all the spheres of people's life. In a word, it was extremely difficult to understand everything and to find the only true line in such a complex and turbulent situation.

The nature of the ideological struggle was being aggravated considerably by personal rivalry within the party leadership too. Old discords which were in evidence as far back as when Lenin was alive manifested themselves in the new situation too and, moreover, in a very acute form. As is known, Vladimir Ilich Lenin warned against the possibility of such a danger. In his "Letter to the Congress" he stressed that it was not a trifle or it was a trifle of the kind that could acquire crucial importance.

That was what actually happened in many respects. A petit bourgeois nature took the upper hand in the case of certain authoritative figures. They adopted factional behavior. This put the party organizations into a fevered state, diverted them from their vital activity and prevented them from working. They continued to provoke a split even when it became clear to an overwhelming majority of the party that their views ran counter to Leninist ideas and plans, that their proposals were erroneous and could divert the country from the correct course it had taken.

This applies above all to Trotskiy, who after the death of Lenin made inordinate claims to the leadership of the party and thus in full measure confirmed Lenin's assessment of him as an excessively self-assured, always prevaricating and swindling politician. Trotskiy and the Trotskiyites rejected the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. In foreign policy they banked on the export of revolution, domestically on turning the screws with regard to the peasantry, on the exploitation of the countryside by the cities, and on bringing military administrative methods to the running of society.

Trotskiyism is a political current whose ideologists, while using leftwing pseudorevolutionary phrases as a cover, actually held a capitulationist position. In essence this was an attack on Leninism along the whole front. What was virtually at stake was the fate of socialism in our country and the fate of the revolution. In these circumstances it was necessary to debunk Trotskiyism on a nationwide scale and to lay bare its antisocialist essence. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Trotskiyites entered into a bloc with a new opposition headed by Zinovyev and Kamenev. Realizing that they were in the minority, the leaders of the opposition again and again foisted debates on the party, reckoning to split the party ranks. But in the final analysis the party came out in support of the Central Committee's line against the opposition, which was ideologically and organizationally smashed. [applause]

Thus, the leading nucleus of the party, which was headed by Stalin, defended Leninism in the ideological struggle, formulated the strategy and tactics in the initial stage of socialist construction, and obtained approval of the political course from a majority of the members of the party and working people. An important role in the ideological defeat of Trotskiyism was played by Bukharin, Dzerzhinskiy, Kirov, Ordzhonikidze, Rudzutak and others. [applause]

At the very end of the twenties, a bitter struggle also broke out over the issue of ways of putting the peasantry on the tracks of socialism. Essentially it brought out the different attitudes of the majority of the Politburo and the Bukharin group toward the application of the NEP principles in the new stage of the development of Soviet society. The specific conditions of those times, both the internal and the international ones, put forward a substantial raising of the rate of socialist construction as a vital task. Bukharin and his supporters in their calculations and theoretical attitudes effectively underestimated the significance of the time factor in the construction of socialism in the thirties. To a large extent their position was determined by dogmatic thinking, by a lack of dialectic approach in their appraisal of the specific situation. Both Bukharin himself and his supporters soon recognized their mistakes.

In this connection it is worth recalling the description of Bukharin given by Lenin: Bukharin is not just a most valuable and major theoretician in the party. He is also legitimately considered to be the pet of the whole party. But his theoretical outlook can only be regarded with very great doubt as being fully Marxist, for in him there is something of the scholasticist. He has never learned dialectics, and I don't think he has ever fully understood it.

Life once again confirmed that Lenin was right. Thus the political debates of those times reflected the complex process in the party's development, typified by bitter struggle over the most important problems of socialist construction. In this struggle, which had to be gone through, the concept of industrialization and collectivization was formed. Under the leadership of the party and its Central Committee heavy industry, including machine-building and the defense industry, and chemical production, that was up-to-date for the times, were over a brief period effectively created over again in the country and the GOELRO Plan was carried out. Magnitka, Kuzbass, Dneproges, Uralmash, the Khibiny Combine, the Moscow and Gorkiy car Factories, aircraft plants, the Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk and Kharkov tractor factories, Rostselmash, Komsomolsk-Na-Amure, Turksib [Turkmen-Siberian Railway], the Great Fergana Canal, and many other great construction projects from the first 5-year plans became glorious symbols of these achievements. At that time dozens of scientific research institutions and a broad network of higher education establishments came into being.

The party proposed a previously unknown way of industrialization: that of immediately advancing heavy industry without relying on external sources of finance or waiting for accumulations built up over many years through the development of light industry. This was in those conditions the only way possible, although it was an inconceivably difficult one for the country and the people. It was an innovative step in which the revolutionary impulse of the masses was taken into account as a component of economic growth. In a single burst industrialization brought the country to a qualitatively new level. By the end of the thirties the Soviet Union occupied first place in Europe for industrial output production and second in the world and had become a truly great industrial power. This was a feat of labor of worldwide historic significance, a feat of liberated labor, a feat of the Bolshevik Party. [applause]

Looking at history through sober eyes and taking into account the totality of domestic and international realities, there is no avoiding the question: Could a course have been chosen in those conditions other than that put forward by the party? If we wish to remain on a standpoint of historic method and truth of life, there can be only one answer. No, it could not. [applause]

In those conditions when the sense of the threat of imperialist aggression was visibly growing, the conviction strengthened in the party as to the need not of covering but literally of running in the shortest historical time scale across the distance between sledge-hammer and peasants' plow to developed industry, without which the demise of the whole cause of the revolution would be inevitable. The vitality of the plans put forward by the party, which were understood and taken in by the masses the slogans and the projects which embodied the revolutionary spirit of October found its reflection in that enthusiasm that astounded the world, with which millions of Soviet people joined in the construction of Soviet industry.

In difficult conditions with no machinery and on semistarvation rations, people worked miracles. They were inspired by the fact that they were joining in a great historical cause. Not being sufficiently literate, they understood with their class feeling what a great and unprecedented cause they had become part of. It is our duty and the duty of those who will follow them to remember this, to remember the feat of our grandfathers and fathers. Everyone must know that their labor and unselfish performance were not in vain. They overcame everything that fate sent them and made a supreme contribution to strengthening the gains of October and to creating the foundations of our strength which enabled the motherland to be saved from a mortal threat and to save socialism for the future and for us all, comrades. Glory to them and may their good memory live on! [applause]

At the same time, the period being referred to here also brought losses. They were in a way linked to the very successes I have talked about. At the time people were being persuaded of the universal effectiveness of strict centralization and that the command method was the shortest and best way to resolve any tasks. This affected attitudes toward people and their living conditions. A system of administration by command arose in the party and state management of the country; bureacracy increased, a danger that Lenin had warned about in his time. A corresponding management structure and planning methods also begun to take shape. In industry, with the size that it was at the time, when all the main sites of the industrial edifice were literally in the public eye, these methods nd this system of management generally yielded results.

However, such a rigid system of centralization and command was inadmissible in resolving the tasks of transforming the countryside. It has to be said frankly: At the new stage, not enough careful attention was paid, in the Leninist way, to the interests of the working peasantry. Most importantly they underestimated the fact that as a class, the peasantry had changed fundamentally over the years since the revolution. The middle-level peasant became the chief figure; he became established as his own master, this peasant toiler, who had received his land from the revolution and who over whole decades had become convinced of the fact that Soviet rule was also his rule. He became a true and reliable ally of the working class, an ally on a new basis, and he satisfied himself in practice that his life was increasingly turning for the better. If a little more consideration had been given to objective economic laws, if more attention had been paid to the social processes taking place in the countryside, if generally attitudes toward that huge mass of working peasantry, most of whom took part in the revolution and defended it from the White Guards and the Interventionists, had been better regulated politically, and if a policy of alliance with the middle-level peasants against the kulaks had been consistently conducted, then there would not have been any of the excesses which took place when collectivization was carried out.

Today it is clear that, in that immense operation which affected the fate of the majority of the country's population, a deviation from Leninist policy was committed in relation to the peasantry. The management of this most important and very complex social process, in which a great deal depended on local conditions, was carried out primarily by administrative methods. The conviction arose that all problems could be solved at a stroke, in a very short period of time. Whole oblasts and regions in the country began competing over who would carry out full collectivization more quickly. Arbitrary percentage-based schedules of allocations were issued from above. Gross violations of the principles of collectivization acquired a ubiquitous character. The conduct of the struggle against the kulaks did not proceed without excesses. The policy of the struggle against the kulaks, which was in itself correct, was often interpreted so broadly that it also caught up a significant proportion of middle-level peasants. Such, comrades, is the historical reality.

But, comrades, if we are to assess the importance of collectivization, overall, in the strengthening of the positions of socialism in the countryside, then in the final analysis it was a turning point of fundamental importance. Collectivization denoted a radical change in the whole structure of the life of the basic mass of the population of the country on socialist foundations. It created the social base for the modernization of the agricultural sector and its transfer to the tracks of cultivated economic management, made possible a significant increase in labor productivity and released a considerable number of the work force which were needed for other spheres of socialist construction. All this had historic consequences.

For an understanding of the situation in those years, one must bear in mind that the administrative command system, which began to take shape in the course of the industrialization and which received a new impetus during the collectivization, had effects on all public and political life of the country. Having consolidated its position in the economy, it also spread to the superstructure, limiting the development of the democratic potential of socialism and restraining the progress of socialist democracy. But what I have said does not reveal all the complexities of that period. What happened here?

Having in fact left behind the period of theideological-political trials that were the most serious for the party, millions of people enthusiastically got down to work to put socialist transformations into practice and the first successes started to appear.

At the same time, the methods dictated by the period of struggle against hostile resistance by the exploiter classes were mechanically carried over into the period of peaceful socialist construction when conditions had changed fundamentally.

An atmosphere of intolerance, enmity, and suspicion was being created in the country. This political practice went on to broaden and was substantiated with the erroneous theory of stepping up the class struggle in the process of building socialism.

All this had a ruinous effect upon the country's sociopolitical development and had grave consequences. It is perfectly obvious that the lack of the proper level of democratization of Soviet society was precisely what made possible both the cult of personality and the violations of the law, arbitrariness, and repressions of the thirties—to be blunt, real crimes based on the abuse of power. Many thousands of members of the party and nonparty members were subjected to mass repressions. That, comrades, is the bitter truth. Serious damage was done to the cause of socialism and the authority of the party, and we must speak bluntly about this. This is essential for the final and irreversible assertion of Lenin's ideal of socialism.

There is a lot of discussion now about Stalin's role in our history. His personality was extremely contradictory. Holding positions of historical truth, we must see both Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and to the defense of its gains, and the gross political errors and arbitrariness permitted to occur by him and those around him, for which our people paid a great price and which had serious consequences for the life of our society.

Sometimes it is said that Stalin did not know about the instances of lawlessness. Documents in our possession say that this is not so. The guilt of Stalin and those closest to him before the party and the people for the mass repressions and lawlessness that were permitted are immense and unpardonable. This is a lesson for all generations.

Of course, despite the assertions of our ideological enemies, the cult of personality was not unavoidable. It is alien to the nature of socialism and is a deviation from its fundamental principles and thus has no justification.

At the 20th and the 22d party congresses, both the cult of Stalin and its consequences were harshly condemned. We now know that the political accusations and repressions against a number of figures in party and state, against many communists and nonparty members, economic and military cadres, academics and cultural figures were the result of deliberate falsification. Many accusations were subsequently quashed, particularly following the 20th party congress. Thousands of innocent people who suffered were completely rehabilitated. But the process of restoration of justice was not seen through, and it effectively stopped in the mid-sixties.

Now, in accordance with the decisions of the October 1987 plenum of the Central Committee, we have to go back to this again.

The Central Committee Politburo has set up a commission to make a thorough examination of the new, and already known, factual documentation relating to these matters.

As a result of the commission's work, the relevant decisions will be adopted.

All this will be reflected also in an outline of the history of the CPSU, whose preparation will be entrusted to a special commission of the Central Committee. We must do this, especially since even now we still encounter attempts to ignore sensitive questions of our history, to hush them up, to pretend that nothing special happened. We cannot agree with this. It would be a neglect of historical truth, disrespect for the memory of those who found themselves innocent victims of lawlessness and arbitrariness. Furthermore we cannot because truthful analysis must help us to solve our current problems of democratization, legality, glasnost, overcoming bureaucratism—in brief, urgent problems of restructuring. That is why here, too, we need full clarity, accuracy, and consistency, [applause] an honest understanding of our tremendous achievements and past misfortunes alike. A full and true political assessment of them will give a real moral guide for the future. [applause]

In drawing up the grand total of the period of the twenties and thirties after Lenin, one could say the following: We have traversed a difficult path, full of contradictions and complexities, yet a great and heroic path. Neither the grossest errors nor the deviations from the principles of socialism that were committed could turn our people and our country from the path they embarked upon in 1917, having made their choice, because the impetus of October was too great and the ideas of socialism that took hold of the masses were too strong. The people felt their participation in a great cause and began to enjoy the fruits of their labor. Their patriotism acquired a new socialist content. [applause]

And this, comrades, showed itself with full force during the harsh ordeals of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. The situation on the eve of the war is being actively discussed today in the West. Truth is being mixed with half-truths. The most zealous are those who are unhappy about the political, territorial, or social results of World War II, and who continue to ponder how to correct them. Therefore, they are interested in how to turn historical truth upside down, to interchange relations of cause and effect, and to falsify the chronology.

In this context, they resort to all sorts of lies to put the blame for World War II on the Soviet Union, alleging that the way to war was opened up by the Ribbentrop-Molotov nonaggression pact. This issue deserves to be spoken about in a rather more detailed way. In fact, World War II became a tragic reality not on 1 September 1939. The occupation of northeastern China by Japan—the Manchurian incident of 1931-32, the Italian aggression against Ethiopia in 1935 and against Albania in the spring of 1939, the German-Italian intervention against Republican Spain in 1936-39, Japan's armed intervention in northern—and then central—China in the summer of 1937: Those were the initial conflagrations of World War II.

It is another matter that the West still pretended that it was not its business and, if it was, then not to such a degree as to prompt it to defend the victims of aggression. The hatred of socialism, long-term calculations, and class egocentrism prevented it from understanding soberly the real dangers. Moreover, fascism was persistently offered the mission of a strike detachment in the anticommunist crusade. Austria and Czechoslovakia followed Ethiopia and China into the furnace of appeasement. The sword was held over Poland and all the states of the Baltic Sea and the Danube basin. Open propaganda was conducted to turn the Ukraine into the granary and stockyard of the Third Reich.

In the end, the main streams of aggression were channelled against the Soviet Union. Taking into account that they started dividing our country long before the war, one should have no trouble in imagining what limited choice we had. They say that the decision that the Soviet Union made by signing the nonaggression pact with Germany was not the best one. Maybe so, if one is guided not by harsh reality but by speculative abstractions divorced from the context of the time. And in those conditions the question stood in about the same way as it did during the Brest peace treaty: Would our country be independent or not, would there be socialism in the world or not?

The USSR did much to create a system of collective security and to prevent worldwide carnage. Yet the Soviet initiatives met with no response from Western politicians and political intriguers who made cold-blooded calculations of the most adroit ways to drag socialism into the flames of war and make it clash head-on with fascism. Being already rejected because of our socialist origins, under no circumstances could we be right in the eyes of imperialism.

As I have already said, ruling Western circles, trying to whitewash their own sins, are striving to persuade people that the Soviet-German nonaggression pact of 23 August 1939 triggered the Nazi invasion of Poland and, through this, World War II. As though there had been no Munich agreement with Hitler signed by Britain and France back in 1938 with active assistance from the United States, nor the Austrian Anschluss, nor the crucifixation of the Spanish Republic, nor the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia and Klaipeda, nor the signing by London and Paris of nonaggression pacts with Germany in 1938—incidentally, prewar Poland concluded similar pacts. As you see, all this fit faily well into the structure of imperialist policy, and was considered and is considered as normal.

It is known from documents that the date for Germany's invasion of Poland, no later than 1 September, had been set as early as 3 April 1939, that is long before the Soviet-German pact. London, Paris, and Washington knew everything, down to the smallest details of the preparations for the Polish campaign, just as they knew that the only obstacle capable of stopping the Hitlerites could be the conclusion, no later than August 1939, of an Anglo-Franco-Soviet military alliance. Those plans were also known to the leadership of our country, and for this reason it tried to convince Britain and France of the need for collective measures. It also appealed to the Polish Government of the time for cooperation in order to end aggression.

But the Western powers had other calculations: to lure the USSR with a promise of an alliance, and thereby to hamper the conclusion of the nonaggression pact which had been offered to us, to deprive us of the possibility of better preparing ourselves for the inevitable attack by Hitlerite Germany against the USSR.

Nor can we forget the fact that in August 1939 the Soviet Union was faced with the real threat of war on two fronts, in the West with Germany, and in the East with Japan, which had unleashed a bloody conflict on the Halhyn Gol river. But life and death, scorning the myths, came into their own. A new chapter, one of the hardest and most difficult in modern history, was opening. At that stage, however, we managed to put off the clash with the enemy, such an enemy that left both itself and its adversary one choice—to vanquish or perish. The aggression thrust upon us was a merciless test of the vitality of the socialist system, of the strength of the multinational Soviet state, of the strength of the patriotic spirit of the Soviet people, and we passed this test by fire and sword, comrades! [applause] We passed because that war became for our people the Great Patriotic War, for in a struggle with such an enemy as German fascism it was a question of life or death, of whether we were to be free or would fall into slavery; we passed because the war became nationwide, everyone came to the defense of the native land, old and young, men and women, all national and ethnic groups of our great country.

Also entering their first battle was the generation born of October and brought up by the socialist system. Unprecedented fortitude and heroism on the battlefields, the courageous struggle of the partisans and underground fighters behind the front line, virtually round-the-clock tireless labor in the rear—this is what the war was for us. The Soviet people fought and labored defending the homeland, the socialist system, the ideas and cause of October. When enormous misfortune befell our common home, the Soviet people did not flinch, did not bend, either under the blows of the first failures and defeats, or under the burden of millions of deaths, torments, and sufferings. From the first day they firmly believed in the future victory. In soldiers' greatcoats, in workers' overalls, they did everything at the limits and beyond the limits of human strength to bring closer that long-awaited day. And when victory came, on the 1,418th day of war, the entire world that had been saved breathed freely, paying due tribute to the Soviet people, the victor, the hero, the toiler, their valiant army which had covered thousands of embattled kilometers, each of which cost many lifes, and no small amount of blood and sweat. [applause]

The talent of the outstanding commanders who emerged from the depths of the people—Zhukov, Rokossovskiy, Vasilevskiy, Konev, and other famous marshals, generals and officers—of those who commanded the army fronts, the corps, divisions, regiments, companies, and platoons, was manifested most powerfully in the Great Patriotic War. The great political will, purposefulness and persistence, and the ability to organize and discipline people which Stalin showed during the war years played their role in attaining victory.

But it was the simple Soviet soldier who bore the main burden of the war, the simple Soviet soldier, of one flesh with the people, the great worker, courageous and devoted to his fatherland: Great honor and eternal glory to him! [applause]

Millions of veterans of the Great Patriotic War are still at their posts today and are taking part militantly in the work of the revolutionary restructuring and renewal of society. Our filial gratitude to them! [applause]

Our Leninist party was the inspiration of all military and labor matters. At the front, in the trenches, Communists were the first to go into the attack, drawing others along with them by their example. In the rear, they were the last to leave their machines, fields, and farms. Soviet people felt as never before that the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) [VKPB] was their own party and the Communists were demonstrating in deed what it meant to be the vanguard of the people when the flames of war were raging and when it is a question of life and death. One can say with confidence that the years of the Great Patriotic War were one of the most glorious and heroic pages in the life of the party itself, written with the heroism and bravery and supreme self-sacrifice and commitment of millions of Communists. [applause]

The war showed that the Soviet people, the party, socialism, and October are indivisible. And there are no forces in the world that could shatter this unity. Socialism did not only hold out and did not simply gain victory: It emerged from the most terrible and destructive of wars, having grown morally stronger and having politically consolidated its authority and influence throughout the world.

At the end of the war our foes prophesied that we would suffer economic collapse, that our country would for a long time lose its place in world politics, and they considered that it would take us 50 years or more to cope with the consequences of the war. But in a very rapid space of time the Soviet people rehabilitated the destroyed cities and villages, raised from the ruins plants and factories, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, schools and institutions of higher education and cultural institutions. Once again the great power of the socialist state was manifested, as were the will of the party motivated by the understanding of the higher interests of the motherland of October, the steadfastness and proletarian wisdom of the workers, who shouldered the main burden of the peaceful transformation of the country's industrial might and the restroration of what had been destroyed; the self-sacrifices the endurance and patritism of the peasantry, who gave their utmost in order to feed the devasteted country; and the friendhsip of the peoples, and mutual assistance, the readiness together to help in a fraternal way those who suffered especially and to help back on their feet those areas of our common motherland upon which the merciless hand of war had lain particuarly heavily.

The source of our achievements, of the economic and scientific and technical progress, mastery of atomic energy and the first spacecraft launches, the growth of the material and cultural prosperity of the people, lie in the heroism of the daily round of labor in the difficult postwar years.

But at this same time, a time of new popular upsurge in the name of socialism, the contradictions between what our society had become and between the previous methods of leadership made themselves felt increasingly perceptibly. Abuse of power and violations of socialist legality continued. The Leningrad plot and the doctors' plot were fabricated, and not just those. People worked selflessly, studied and strained for new knowledge, became reconciled to the difficulties and the shortages, but felt that both anxiety and hope were accumulating in society. All this gripped public awareness shortly after Stalin's death.

In the mid fifties, especially after the 20th CPSU Congress, the wind of change swept across the country. The people took heart, livened up, became bolder and more confident. It required no little courage on the part of the party and its leadership, headed by Khrushchev, to criticize the cult of personality and its consequences and to restore socialist legality. The previous stereotypes in domestic and foreign policy began to break down. Attempts were made to overcome the bureaucratic methods of management based on command which had become established in the thirties and forties, and to endow socialism with greater dynamism, to stress humanistic ideals and values, and to revive the creative spirit of Leninism in theory and practice.

The decisions of the September 1953 and July 1955 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee were permeated with the aspiration to change the priorities of economic development and to set in train incentives linked with personal interest in the results of labor. Greater attention began to be paid to the development of agriculture, housing construction, light industry, the consumer sphere, and everything connected with satisfying a person's needs. In a word, changes for the better, both in Soviet society and in international relations, were taking place.

However, no few subjectivist errors were committed, which hampered socialism's emergence at a new stage, and which in many respects compromised progressive undertakings. The fact is that qualitatively new tasks in domestic and foreign policy and in party construction were not infrequently solved by voluntarist methods, with the aid of the old political and economic mechanism. However, the main reason for the failure of the reforms that were undertaken in this period was the fact that they were not based on the broad spread of the processes of democratization.

At the October 1964 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, there was a change in the leadership of the party and country, and decisions were adopted to overcome the libertarian tendencies and distortions in domestic and foreign policy. The party strove to achieve some stabilization of policy and to provide it with realistic features and a solid foundation.

The March and September 1965 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee put forward a fresh approach in the running of the economy. An economic reform and large-scale programs for opening up new areas and developing the country's productive forces were drawn up and a start was made on their implementation. In the first few years this altered the situation in the country for the better. There was an increase in the economic and scientific potential. The defense capability was strengthened. There was a rise in the level of the people's wellbeing. Many foreign policy actions were carried out which consolidated the international prestige of our state. Military and strategic parity with the United States was ensured.

The country possessed great possibilities to accelerate its development, but new cardinal changes in society and, of course, the appropriate political will were needed to use these possibilities and to bring them into action. There was insufficient of either. Even much of what had been decided remained just on paper and suspended in the air. The pace of our development was seriously slowed down.

At the April 1985 Plenum of the party Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress frankly specified the reasons for the situation that had come about, revealed the mechanism that was slowing down our development, and gave a principled assessment of it. It was stressed that during the latter years of the life and activities of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev the search for the way to achieve further progress was to a great extent held back by an adherence to customary formulas and schemes that did not reflect the new realities. There was an increasing gap between word and deed. There was a buildup of negative processes in the economy, which had in effect created a precrisis situation. Many anomalous features had arisen in the social, spiritual and moral spheres, which were distorting and deforming the principles of socialist justice, undermining the people's faith in it and giving rise to social alienation and amorality in various forms. The mounting divergence between the lofty principles of socialism and the everyday reality of life became intolerable. The healthy forces in the party and society as a whole felt increasingly acutely the insistent requirement and the need to overcome the negative features, alter the course of events, ensure an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and achieve a moral cleansing and renewal of socialism. A response to this most acute social requirement was the concept and strategy for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, which were put forward by the April 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee, and the course for revitalizing socialism, which were developed theoretically and politically in the decisions of the 27th Congress and subsequent plenums of the Central Committee and which were formulated into the general line for the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of life in socialist society.

The ideas of restructuring are based on our 70 years of history and on the solid foundation of the fundamentally new social edifice that has been built in the Land of the Soviets, combining continuity and innovation and the historic experience of Bolshevism with the present day of socialism. We have to continue and redouble the cause of the first pioneers of socialist revolution, and we will achieve this without fail by our labor, creatively using the experience of the generations who paved the path of the October Revolution ahead of us and for us. [applause]

Comrades: We are travelling a revolutionary path. It is not a road for the weak and timid; it is a road for the strong and the bold, which is what the Soviet people have always been, during the years of the very great social transformations, during the years of the war ordeals, and during the years of peaceful and creative labor. It is the people who creates their own history and destiny, a destiny that is never easy but unique and priceless like human life itself. This is true 100 times over as regards the history of socialism and continuing the cause of the Great Revolution.

The working class was and remains the people's cementing and vanguard force. At the very dawn of the revolutionary movement it followed the Leninst call to fight for freedom without for a moment abandoning thoughts of socialism and to work on its implementation and the preparation of forces and organizations for the attainment of socialism. It was the working class, in alliance with all working people, that carried out the Great October Revolution, built socialism and defended it in severe encounters with the enemy. It bore, experienced and withstood everything, and today too it is in the vanguard of developing socialism and the revolutionary restructuring. Glory and all honor to it! [applause]

Our Leninist party arose and developed as an active combat detachment of the working class, from which it absorbed the mighty strength of certainty, firmness, discipline and steadfastness in the struggle for the ideals of socialism, and a wise and humane understanding of life. Now, as the party of all the people, it preserves these best features of the attacking and creating class today and at all stages in the history of socialism. [applause]

The main and crucial meaning of our history consists in the fact that for all those 70 years our people have lived and worked under the leadership of the party for the sake of socialism, for the sake of a better and just life. This is the destiny of a creator-people, a builder-people. [applause]

Comrades: We have been brought to the conclusion that restructuring is essential by burning and urgent necessities. But the more deeply we have investigated our problems and grasped their meaning, the more obvious it has become that the restructuring has a wider sociopolitical and historical context as well. Restructuring means not only shaking off the stagnation and conservatism of the preceding period and correcting the mistakes committed, but also overcoming historically limited and obsolete features of social organization and working methods. It means imparting to socialism the most perfect forms appropriate for the conditions and requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and for the intellectual progress of Soviet society. This is a comparatively lengthy process of society's revolutionary rejuvenation with its own logic and stages.

Lenin saw socialism's historical task in preparing the transition to communism by the work of a long succession of years. The leader of the revolution highly rated Marx and Engels' ability to analyze, in exteme detail, precisely the transitional forms in order to take into account each separate case's dependence on specific historical peculiarities and determine what transition, from what to what, is represented by any given transitional form. In short, our teachers gave much warning that the road of constructing a new society is a long succession of transitions. We have every reason to regard the restructuring as a specific historical stage in our society's onward advance. And to answer the Leninist question from what to what are we passing, it has to be said quite definitely: We are imparting new qualities to socialism—a second wind, as they say—and to do this we must effect a profound rejuvenation of all aspects of society's life, both material and spiritual, and develop as fully as possible the humanist nature of our system.

The objective of restructuring is to fully restore, both theoretically and practically, the Leninist conception of socialism, in which undisputed priority is given to the man of labor, to his ideals and interests, and to communist values in the economy, social and political relations, and culture. Our hope for revolutionary purification and revival lies in developing socialism's tremendous social resources by galvanizing the individual and the human factor. As a result of restructuring socialism could and should fully realize its capabilities as a system of real humanism, serving man and elevating him. It is a society for people, for the blossoming of their creative labor, prosperity, health, physical and spiritual development, of a society in which man feels himself to be completely in charge and is so in practice.

Two key problems in the development of society determine the destiny of restructuring. These are the democratization of all public life and the radical economic reform.

Continuing the cause of October, restructuring has put forward as a task of the highest priority the further deepening and development of socialist democracy. The democratization of society is the soul of restructuring; and on the future progress of democratization will depend also the success of restructuring itself and, it can be said without exaggeration, the future of socialism as a whole. This is the firmest guarantee of the transformation of policy and of the economy, and it excludes any backward movement. The reforms that are now taking place in this country are possibly the biggest step since October on the path of the development of socialist democratism.

In restructuring our economic and political system, we are obliged to create, first, a reliable and flexible mechanism by which to ensure that all working people do, in reality, become involved in deciding the affairs of state and society. Secondly, we must in practice teach people to live in the conditions created by a deepening democracy; widen—widen and strengthen—human rights; and foster the modern political culture of the masses. In other words, we must teach and learn democracy. As we mark the 70th anniversary of our revolution, as we take thought for the future, we must look more closely at how the process of the democratization of society is going and what is hindering it.

Here there are considerable difficulties and contradictions, which are at times unexpected. There is no avoiding the struggle of what is new and progressive against what is old and obsolete. There is a degree of uncertainty and indecision. In the first days after October, Vladimir Ilich Lenin noted that the workers and peasants were still timid; that they were not yet determined enough; that they had not yet come to terms with the fact that they themselves must take into their hands all the levers of government. But the power, vitality, and invincibility of the October Revolution of 1917, Lenin wrote, lay precisely in the fact that it was awakening these qualities, breaking down all the old impediments; that it was tearing away the rusted shackles and leading the working people out onto the road of the independent creative endeavor of the new life.

Now, too, we see how difficult it is for people to get the feel of a new situation—to accustom themselves to the possibility and necessity of living and deciding all questions by democratic methods. Many are still afraid, act circumspectly, are chary of responsibility and remain in thrall to outdated rules and instructions. The task is to instill in people a taste for independence and responsibility in their approach to industrial and public affairs on whatever scale; to develop self-government as the power of the people, exercised by the people themselves and in the interests of the people.

Development of self-government will proceed above all through the soviets, which must, in accordance with the party's designs, fully justify their role as plenipotentiary organs of decision. Recently, the rights and opportunities of the Soviets at all levels have been considerably expanded. That process will continue, and therefore the soviets will gather strength and Soviet democracy will deepen. We have begun to improve the electoral system. The elections held in June this year have convinced us of the rightness and fruitfulness of the new approaches. They demonstrated the people's increased political activeness, and the interest that people have in seeing that the best representatives of the workers get elected to the soviets—though once again, formalism and over-organization were not avoided. Restructuring and development of democracy make it possible to turn on at full capacity the energy, possibilities, and rights of the trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations, including those that have come into being in recent years, such as the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans, the Women's Councils, the Soviet Culture Fund, and the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Children's Fund. It is important that their day-to-day activities should be concerned with solving vitally important tasks and should reflect the interests of the broad masses of the working people. Much that is new and promising has appeared in the labor collectives and in work linked to places of residence. Wide scope is opening up for useful initiative, so that all vital questions may be settled efficiently and without red tape. The new processes that have got underway in our country also pose in a new way the question of general political and legal standards, which I would call the culture of socialist democratism. It is to a large extent the lack of that culture that gives rise to such defects as bureaucracy and abuse of power, undue reverence for rank, band management, and irresponsibility. The true culture of socialist democracy will never accept either a command-pressure style nor organizational wooliness—substituting empty talk for business. Both are alien to socialism. There is no doubt either about something else: the broader and deeper that democracy is, the more attention is required by socialist legality and law and order, and the more we need organization and conscious discipline.

The culture of democracy cannot be limited to the political sphere. It must penetrate all spheres of human relations. Our premise is that socialism is a society of growing diversity in people's views, mutual inter-relations and activity. Each person has his social experience, his level of knowledge and education, and his own particular ways of perceiving events. Thus, there is an enormous range of opinions, convictions, and assessments, which naturally require careful consideration and comparison. We are in favor of a diversity of public opinion and of richness of intellectual life. We should not be afraid of openly posing and tackling difficult problems of social development, of criticizing and arguing. It is in such circumstances that the truth emerges and correct decisions are formulated. Socialist democracy must completely serve socialism and the interests of the working people. [applause]

Comrades: A solid basis for an accelerated advance in all directions can be created only on the basis of fundamental changes in the economy. Restructuring itself will gain full force only when it has deeply stirred the national economy. In its turn, this rests on profound transformations of the economic mechanism and the entire economic management system. The aim of the radical economic reform begun in the country is to guarantee in the next 2 or 3 years the transition from an excessively centralized, command-based management system to a democratic one, based predominantly on economic methods and an optimum combination of centralism and self-management. This presupposes a sharp expansion in the independence of associations and enterprises, their changeover to full financial autonomy and self-financing, and the provision of labor collectives with all rights necessary for this.

Even now, economic reform is not mere plans and intentions, even less is it mere abstract theoretical argument. It is firmly and deeply entering life. A significant number of associations and enterprises in industry, construction, transportation and agriculture are today working on the principles of self-financing and financial autonomy. From the beginning of next year, enterprises producing 60% of industrial output will be working in these conditions and the law on state enterprises will come into force.

All this is already having an effect on economic management practice. In the collectives, there is a noticeable growth of interest in the financial and economic results of work. People are beginning to make a realistic reckoning of expenditure and results, to make savings in large and small things, and to find the most efficient solutions to problems.

Today we must once again firmly say: The party will permit no deviation from the accepted principles of economic reform. All the envisaged transformations must be and shall be fully implemented. Economic reform and restructuring actively put people first. Social justice requires that we give more attention to manifestations of the personal abilities by individuals and that we mark morally and materially those who work best and hardest, showing an example to others. Genuine talent and brilliant personalities are the priceless assets of society, and they must be cared for. Every necessary condition must be created for their creativity and life. We want each person's worth, knowledge, labor, and ability to be respected everywhere, so that the honest, industrious, creative person may be certain that his labor is duly appreciated, that he can always prove his case and find support. But the idler, the scrounger, the bureaucrat, and the lout will be put in their place and unmasked.

The positive changes which are now taking place in our country—and they are widely publicized in the mass media—are warmly supported by the working people. Today an unconscientious attitude to one's task is especially intolerable. A person armed with modern knowledge and equipment produces more and more output, and his labor depends more and more closely on the activity of thousands of other participants in public-sector production. In these conditions, negligence on the part of even one worker, engineer, or scientist can result in extraordinarily serious consequences fraught with huge losses for society.

I would especially like to stress the growing significance of intellectual labor, the interaction of science, technology and society, the humanitarian, moral-ethical bias of scientific and technical progress. We want all the achievements of science and technology to be placed at the service of man and not to lead to violation of the ecology. We extract grim lessons from such tragic events as the accident at the Chernobyl AES. We want to end the use of science for military purposes, to raise social responsibility and professional competence. Creative performance today is the duty of engineers and scientists, physicians and teachers, literary and arts figures. [applause]

In restoring the rights of workers to a material interest, and thereby increasing attention to its collective forms, we must not allow an underestimation of social, cultural, moral, and psychological incentives. They are exceptionally important for normal development of relations of collectivism and comradeship and the socialist way of life and for strengthening our Soviet values in people's consciousness and behavior.

Comrades: We justly say that the nationalities issue has been resolved in our country. The revolution paved the way not only for the legal, but also the social and economic equality of rights of nations, having done an exceptionally great deal to level the economic, social, and cultural development of all republics and regions and all peoples. One of the supreme gains of October is the friendship of the Soviet peoples. In itself, it is a unique phenomenon in world history, and for us it is one of the main buttresses of the power and strength of the Soviet state. [applause]

In noting today the outstanding achievements of Lenin's nationalities policy, the peoples of our country pay a tribute of profound esteem and gratitude to the Great Russian people, for their disinterestedness, genuine internationalism, and inestimable contribution to the creation, development, and strengthening of the Socialist Union of free and equal republics, and to the economic, social and cultural progress of all peoples in the Land of the Soviets. [applause]

Let us, comrades, look after our great and common property: the friendship of the peoples of the USSR! [applause]

Therefore, we will never forget the fact that we live in a multinational state, where any social, economic, cultural, and legal decisions directly and immediately always touch upon the nationalities issue as well. Let us act in a Leninist manner and develop as much as possible the potential of every nation and every one of the Soviet peoples. [applause]

Relations between nationalities in our country are a vital issue of active life. We must be extremely attentive and tactful in everything to do with people's national interests or feelings and provide for the most active participation of working people of all nations and ethnic groups in resolving the diverse tasks of our multinational society. We intend to analyze and discuss in greater depth these issues in the near future, taking into account what restructuring, democratization, and the new state in its development are bringing into Soviet life. Friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR are a sacred matter for us; this is how it has been, and this is how it will be. This is in line with the spirit of Leninism, the traditions of Great October, and the fundamental interests of all the nations and ethnic groups which populate our Motherland. [applause]

Comrades: The transition of Soviet society to a qualitatively new state and the breakthrough to the future can only be accomplished on a broad front which includes also the intellectual sphere of socialism: science and education, literature and art, the whole totality of the Soviet people's social and moral values. Intellectual culture is not just an embellishment of society but one of its life-support zone; it is society's intellectual and cultural potential; it is, as it were, the alloying material for imparting social durability to it and a catalyst for its dynamism. We must raise the prestige of socialist culture even higher. Scientists, inventors, writers, journalists, artists, actors, and teachers, all workers in the various areas of culture and education are called upon to be advocates of restructuring. The party is counting upon an active civic and social stance from our intelligentsia. [applause]

The Soviet people have become an enlightened people, something which the great enlighteners of the past could only dream of. But complacency is inadmissible here. Our achievements should not conceal the vastness and urgency of tasks to be solved today. We can see that the system of education has in many ways ceased to meet contemporary requirements. The quality of tuition in schools and higher education establishments, and the training of workers and specialists far from fully meets life's requirements. It is essential to make a serious spurt ahead and in this sphere, too, to achieve fundamental changes. It is in precisely this way that the party is approaching reform of secondary and professional education and restructuring of the higher schools. The CPSU Central Committee has decided to examine the questions of education that have come to a head, at one of its Central Committee plenums.

Such, comrades, are our strategic tasks, which we must deal with in the course of the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life of socialist society. Two and one-half years have passed since the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. What have we managed to do? On what frontier are we now? I suggest that such questions are appropriate and unavoidable at today's solemn session.

The overall conclusion on this score of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that has just come to an end is as follows: We are living through a time of dramatic change. The first stage of the work to restructure has basically been completed. A concept of restructuring has been elaborated based on a profound analysis of the situation and outlook for the country's development. A new political, moral, and psychological atmosphere has been created in the country. The party has succeeded in raising people's interest in public affairs and their activity and in increasing the level of exactingness, criticism, self-criticism, and glasnost, and in creating the prerequisites for genuine changes in people's thinking and moods. The main thing that defines the position of the majority of the Soviet people at this stage is support for restructuring and the demand that it advance steadily.

Workers, kolkhoz personnel, and the intelligentsia are reacting with understanding to the need to increase discipline, efficiency, and the quality of labor. In factories and on construction sites, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in scientific research organizations, an intense search for new forms of organization and renumeration of labor is under way. People are now becoming more exacting with regard to themselves, to their leaders, and specialists, and are coming out determinedly against poor management and lack of responsibility. We value highly this civic position fo the working people and regard it as an undoubted and weighty support for the party's drive for acceleration. [applause]

There are grounds also for talking of some positive advances in practical affairs, above all in the social and economic sphere. The rates of production growth have increased, and there have been qualitative changes in the economy. Large-scale scientific and technological programs are being implemented and domestic machine-building is being modernized. Agriculture, and particularly livestock farming, has begun to develop more steadily.

You are all aware, Comrades, what unfavorable weather conditions there have been this year in most areas of the country. Nonetheless, we have managed to bring in a grain harvest of more that 210 million tons. This is the result of immense efforts by our people and the party that has roused them to work in a new way. [applause]

The economic recovery which has begun has allowed us to set about implementing major measures in the social sphere. The scale of housing construction has risen perceptibly, the services sector is expanding, the income of working people is growing, slaries for teachers and doctors have been increased, and major programs in the areas of education and medical services to the population are being implemented.

Still, this is just the start. Now we can talk about the beginning of a new stage of restructuring, when all our policy and all our decisions are transformed into concrete deeds and put into practice. This requires huge efforts from all the people, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all our cadres. Now life itself will check our ideas, plans, approaches, and methods of work. The growing tension of life can be felt in everything today, but it is the tension of creation, active labor and political and intellectual activity. It is a good tension, Comrades, the mobilizing kind. I should like to stress that, from this point of view, the next 2 or perhaps 3 years will be the most difficult, decisive and, in a certain sense, critical—primarily because it will be necessary simultaneously to solve large-scale tasks, both in the economy, and in the social sphere, and in the restructuring of state and public administration, and in ideology and culture. I tis necessary to implement deep structual improvements in the economy, to reach a turning-point in acceleration of scientific and technical progress, to conduct, in the main, a restructuring of the economic mechanism and thus to take a decisive step in switching the national economy onto the tracks of intensification.

The difficult nature of the forthcoming period lies in the fact that the transformations will affect the interests of a larger and larger mass of people, social groups, and strata of society and all cadres. We are certain that the situation in the country will continue to be determined by broad support from the working people for restructuring, deep understanding of the necessity of the changes, and energetic continuation of restructuring despite certain problems along this path.

But it would be wrong not to see a certain strengthening of resistance from conservative forces who regard restructuring as merely a threat to their own selfish interests and aims. This is occurring not only in various levels of administration but in labor collectives as well. Nor can one be in any doubt that the forces of conservatism...the forces of conservatism will not fail to exploit any difficulties in order to attempt to discredit restructuring and arouse dissatisfaction among the working people. Some people even now prefer to stand around pointing to failings instead of rolling up their sleeves and battling with shortcomings and seeking new solutions. At the same time, naturally, nobody is saying that they are against restructuring. No, rather they are playing the role of fighters against its costs, of zealots of ideological foundations which allegedly might be shaken by the masses' growing activeness. But how long can they go on frightening us, Comrades, with all sorts of costs? Of course, costs are inevitable in everything—especially in something new. But the consequences of marking time, of stagnation, and of indifference are far more significant and expensive than the costs which arise for a time in the process of the creative setting-up of new forms of social life.

We must learn to recognize, to unmask, and to neutralize the maneuvers of restructuring's opponents, those who are putting a brake on things, those who put a wrench in the works, who gloat over difficulties and failures, who attempt to drag us back to the past. Nor must we submit to pressure from the excessively zealous and impatient, those who do not want to reckon with the objective logic of restructuring and who express dissatisfaction with the slow—in their view—pace of transformations, with the fact that they allegedly do not rapidly yield the necessary fruit.

It must be clear that one cannot skip stages and attempt to do everything in one stroke. Restructuring is continuing the cause of the revolution, and today it is extremely necessary to be able to wield to perfection the weapon of revolutionary endurance. This endurance does not mean that one must remain where one is or flow with the current. It means an ability to assess the situation realistically, not to give in to difficulties, not to panic, and not to lose one's head either from successes or failures. It means an ability to work intensively and purposively every day, every hour, and everywhere and in everything to find, and to implement, optimum solutions dictated by life itself. [applause]

Hence the need for confident, persistent, purposeful work to implement what we have envisaged, for the performance of the set targets and tasks. To reveal, analyze the contradictions, understand their nature, and on this basis draw up a system of political, economic, social, organizational and ideological measures—this is what our approach should be, and nothing else. [applause]

Comrades: The success of restructuring depends primarily on the energy, purposefulness, and force of example of the party and each Communist. In this historically crucial moment of socioeconomic transformations the Communist Party has boldly and resolutely mounted a struggle for the renewal of society, has taken on its shoulders the most difficult burden of work. We can say with confidence that the great cause of October, the cause of revolutionary restructuring, finds itself in firm hands. The Communists will do their duty with lofty sense of responsibility to the people and the time. [applause]

A radical improvement in the activity of the party organizations, party bodies, and cadres is becoming today's main task. It is necessary to bring about a change in each party organization's activity, to step up the work of each party committee, each Communist. Where this has already succeeded in being done, where party leaders, Communists, have awakened the initiative and spontaneous action of the masses, have boldly embarked on the path of democratization, glasnost, introduction of financial autonomy, collective contracting, have given scope to new forms of labor organization and incentive, satisfaction of people's requirements, the matter has gone forward, and decisively at that.

However, we see in a number of towns, rayons, and oblasts, and even in certain republics, real restructuring has not yet got under way. This is the direct result of political and organizational inertia and a lack of initiative on the part of party committees and their leaders. One must see this too. This is also our reality.

Special responsibility for improving things is borne by the primary party organizations. All the threads of restructuring essentially meet in them. It is on the primary party organizations' intiative that the progress of transformation primarily depends, the ability to mobilize and inspire people, the ability to achieve a specific improvement in work. In general, Comrades, without a sharp stepping up of activity by all party organizations, we shall not accomplish restructuring. Therefore we need more businesslike activity, more democratization, more organization and discipline. We shall then be able to put restructuring into full swing and impart fresh impetuses to a developing socialism. [applause]

Comrades: The world would not have been as we now see it if it were not for the great revolution in Russia. Up until this turning point in world history, the right of the strong and the rich and the wars of aggression were the customary norm of international relations. By its first legislative act, the famous decree on peace, the Soviet power began to lead the struggle against this state of affairs. The Soviets brought into international practice what was previously outside the framework of major politics: people's commonsense and the interests of the working masses. During the brief years when Lenin was in charge of Soviet foreign policy, he not only worked out its starting principles but also showed how to implement them in a most unusual, drastically changing situation.

Indeed, contrary to initial expectations, the breaking of the weakest link of the capitalist system was not the final, decisive battle, but a beginning of a protracted and complex process. One of the greatest services rendered by the founder of the Soviet state was that he saw in good time the real prospects opening up for the new Russia as a result of the victorious end of the Civil War. As he conceived, the country succeeded in obtaining not only a breathing space, but also something much bigger, a new period of time when our main international existence within the network of capitalist states was one. Lenin decisively suggested the course of learning and getting to know how to coexist with them for a long time.

Counterbalancing leftwing extremism, he found a basis for the possibility of states with different social systems to coexist peacefully. After the Civil War only 1 and one-half to 2 years were needed to bring the workers' and peasants' state out of foreign political isolation. Treaties with the neighboring countries and then with Germany in Rapallo were concluded. England, France, Italy, Sweden, and other capitalist states extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Republic. First steps were taken to establish equal relations with the states in the East: China, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.

All this does not simply represent the initial victories of Leninist foreign policy and diplomacy; it was embarking on a fundamentally new international development. The cardinal direction of our foreign policy was laid, and we call it by rights the Leninist course for peace, mutually advantageous cooperation among states and friendship among peoples.

Of course, not all our subsequent foreign policy work consisted of successes and achievements alone. There were errors. It was not always and not everywhere, before and after World War II alike, that we succeeded in making use of the opportunities opening up. We were unable to make use of the enormous moral prestige with which the USSR emerged from the war to consolidate peaceloving, democratic forces and to stop the organizers of the Cold War. Our reaction to the provocative actions of imperialism was not always adequate. Yes, some things could have been done better, and more effective action could have been taken.

Nevertheless, we are able at this festive time to state: The fundamental line of our policy invariably adhered to the general direction worked out and laid by Lenin, that is, in accordance with the nature of socialism, its fundamental orientation toward peace. [applause]

To a decisive extent and precisely thanks to this, we succeeded in averting the unleashing of nuclear war. We did not allow imperialism to win the Cold War. Together with our allies, we inflicted a defeat on the imperialist strategy of rolling back socialism. Imperialism had to moderate its claims to world supremacy.

At the new stage, it is on the results of our own peaceloving policies that we have been able to rely, elaborating new approaches in the spirit of the new thinking. Lenin's conception of peaceful coexistence has of course undergone changes. In the beginning it was justified primarily by the need to create the minimum external conditions for the construction of a new society in the country of the socialist revolution. But while being a continuation of the class policy of the victorious proletariat, peaceful coexistence has gone on, especially in the nuclear age, to become transformed into a condition for the survival of all mankind. The April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee also became a milestone in development of Leninist thought along this same avenue.

The 27th congress provided a new external economic conception in detailed form. Its point of departure, you will recall, is the following idea: Despite the profoundly contradictory nature of the modern world and fundamental differences of the states which comprise it, it is mutually connected, mutually dependent, and forms a definite integral whole. This is brought about by internationalization of world economic links, the all-embracing nature of the scientific and technical revolution, fundamentally new role of the media and communications, condition of the planet's resources, overall ecological danger, and glaring social problems of the developing world which affect everyone. But mainly it is brought about by the rise of the problem of mankind's survival, for the appearance andd the threat of the use of nuclear weapons has placed a question mark over its very existence. Lenin's idea of the priority of interests of social development has thus acquired new sense and meaning.

Starting from the April plenum we have told everyone sufficiently clearly how we picture the movement toward a secure and solid peace. Our intentions and our will are recorded in the decisions of the supreme political forum of the party, the 27th congress, in the new edition of the

CPSU Program, in the program for nuclear disarmament as set out in the statement of 15 January 1986, in the Delhi Declaration, and in other documents, and in the official speeches of the leading figures of the Soviet Union. Together with the countries of the socialist community, we have put forward a number of major initiatives at the United Nations, including a project for creation of a comprehensive system for international peace and security. The Warsaw Pact states have addressed to NATO and to all European countries a proposal to reduce armed forces and armaments to a level of reasonable sufficiency. We have invited comparison of the military doctrines of the two alliances with a view to giving them an exclusively defensive direction. We have put forward specific plans and are actively striving for the banning and elimination of chemical weapons. We have shown initiative in the field of organizing effective methods for monitoring [kontrol] a reduction in armaments, including on-site inspection. We have resolutely advocated strengthening the authority of the United Nations and making full and effective use of the rights invested in it and its organs by the international community. We do everything in our power so that the United Nations, this universal mechanism, can discuss and work with full authority to guarantee a collective quest for and a balance of all states' interests, and effectively carry out its peacemaking functions.

The main thing is that our concept and the firm orientation toward peace have found reflection in deeds, in our entire conduct in the international arena, in the very style of foreign policy diplomatic work permeated with the striving for a frank and honest dialogue which takes into account mutual concerns and conclusions of world science, and is free from attempts at winning anything from anyone or cheating anyone. So, after these more than 2 years, we are saying with confidence that the new political thinking is not simply declarations and appeals but a philosophy for action or, if you like, a philosophy for life. It is continuing to evolve along with the course of objective processes in the world, and it is already at work.

The meeting at Reykjavik in October 1986 belongs among the events of the new stage of international development which has begun, the events that deserve to be mentioned on this day and which will remain in history. It instilled the new thinking with practical energy, allowed it to become firmly established in the most diverse social and political circles, and made international political contacts more effective.

The new thinking, with its criteria that are those of the whole mankind, and its orientation upon reason and openness, has started to make its way in world affairs, destroying the stereotypes of anti-Sovietism and suspicion toward our initiatives and actions. Of course, if one is to measure it by the scale of the tasks which present-day mankind is faced with solving, in order to ensure survival, then only a very, very small amount has yet been done. But a start has been made, and the first signs of the changes are obvious. One convincing confirmation of this is the accord with the United States on the conclusion in the near future of an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. The conclusion of this agreement is of great independent significance. For the first time, a whole class of nuclear weapons will be eliminated, and the first real step will be made along the path of destroying nuclear arsenals. It has been shown in practice that it is possible to move in this direction without harm to anyone. This is undoubtedly an important success of the new thinking and the fruit of our willingness to seek mutually acceptable solutions, while strictly ensuring the principle of equal security.

However, the matter of this agreement was basically resolved in Reykjavik, at our second meeting with the President. At such a responsible time, the world expects more from a third and fourth meeting of the highest leaders of the USSR and the United States than just the formal registering of what was agreed on a year ago, and not just a continuation of the discussions.

Time is pressing, as is the growing danger of the refinement of weapons, which could get out of control. This is why we will be insistently seeking at these meetings tangible progress and specific results on the key issue of eliminating the nuclear threat, the issue of reducing strategic offensive weapons, and not permitting the transfer of weapons into space.

Nevertheless, what grounds do we have for optimism and for considering that an all-embracing security is indeed possible? It is worth dwelling on this. As we mark the 70th anniversary of our revolution, which would not have been victorious if it had not been theoretically prepared, we are now at a fresh watershed in world history and are working out in theory the prospects for advancing toward a stable peace. With the assistance of the new thinking, we have in the main substantiated the requirement for and possibility of an all-embracing system of international security in conditions of disarmament. Now we need to prove the necessary and realistic nature of heading for and reaching this goal and reveal the laws for the interaction of forces, which in struggle, amid contradictions and in the collission of interests, may provide the result that is sought.

In this connection, we should first of all, again from the standpoint of our Leninist teaching and making use of its methodology, ask ourselves difficult questions. First—and this has to do with the nature of imperialism, in which the main military threat is rooted, as is well known—the nature of the social system cannot, of course, be changed by the influence of external conditions. But is it possible at the present phase of world development and at the new level of interdependence and integrity of the world to have an influence on this nature that would block its most dangerous manifestations? In other words, is it possible to count on the natural logic of an integral world, in which general human values are the main priority, being able to limit the range of destructive actions of the egocentric, narrow, class-based features of the capitalist system?

Here is the second question, and it is connected with the first. Is capitalism able to free itself of militarism? Can it function economically and develop without it? Concerning our invitation to the Western countries for programs to be prepared and compared on the reconversion of economies—that is to say, their transfer to a peaceful footing—is that not utopian?

The third question is: Can the capitalist system do without neocolonialism, one of the sources for its present life support? In other words, is that system able to function without its unequal exchange with the Third World, which is fraught with unpredictable consequences?

Along with this, there is a further question: How realistic are the hopes that an understanding of the catastrophic danger in which the world finds itself—and we know that such an understanding is penetrating even the topmost echelons of the ruling elite of the Western world—how realistic is it that this understanding will be carried over into practical policy?

After all, however strong the arguments of common sense might be, however developed the sense of responsibility might be, and however great the instinct of self-preservation might be, there are things that must in no way be underestimated and which are determined by economic and consequently class interests. In other words, it is a question of whether capitalism will be capable of adapting to the conditions of a non-nuclear and disarmed world, to the conditions of a new and just economic order, to conditions of an honest juxtaposition of the two worlds' spiritual values.

These questions are far from idle. The answers to them will determine how historical events in coming decades will unfold. It is enough to raise only these questions in order to see the full seriousness of the tasks. Life will provide the answers. The correctness of the program for a non-nuclear, secure world will be tested not only by the impeccable nature of its scientific foundations, but it will also be tested by the course of events, which is subject to influences from the most varied and new forces. It is already being tested, and here too we are true to the Leninist tradition, to the very essence of Leninism—the organic fusion of theory and practice, the approach to theory as a tool of practice, and practice as a mechanism for monitoring the correctness of theory. This is the way we are acting in transferring the new thinking to our foreign policy activity and by correcting and refining through experience obtaiend from real policy.

So what are we counting on, knowng that we shall have to build a secure world together with the capitalist countries? The postwar period has provided evidence of a profound modification of contradictions which have determined the main processes in the world economy and politics. I have in mind, first and foremost, the fact that they have developed in a way that, in the past, inexorably led to war, to world wars between the capitalist states themselves. Now the situation is different. Not only the lessons of the last war, but also the fear of weakening itself in the face of socialism, which has become a world system, have prevented capitalism from taking its internal contradictions to the extreme. They have begun to involve themselves in a technology race against each other. They have discharged with the aid of neocolonialism, and a unique kind of new peaceful repartition of the world has taken place according to the same rule about capital that Lenin revealed: Whoever is the richest and strongest at any given moment gets the biggest share. A number of countries have begun easing economic tension by pumping resources into the military-industrial complex under the pretext of a Soviet threat. The transformations taking place in the technological and organizational basis of the capitalist economy have also helped to reconcile contradictions and balance interests.

But that is not all. If in the past, faced with the fascist menace, an alliance of socialist and capitalist states became possible, does not a definite lesson follow from this for the present day, when the entire world has come face to face with the menace of a nuclear disaster and need to ensure the safety of nuclear power engineering and overcoming the ecological danger? These are all completely real and acute problems, demanding not only that we be aware of them, but also that we seek practical solutions.

Further, is the capitalist economy capable of developing without militarization? Here one is reminded of the economic miracles in Japan, West Germany, and Italy. True, once the miracle was over they turned to militarism again. We must, however, establish to what extent this turn was determined by the essential laws of operation of contemporary monopolistic capital, and what role was played by transitory factors—the infectious example of the U.S. military-industrial complex, the cold war atmosphere, considerations of prestige, the need to have one's own military fist to talk to one's competitors in a language understood in that milieu, as well as the desire to reinforce one's economic invasion of the Third World by strong-arm policies. Whatever the case may be, a number of countries did go through a period of rapid development of the contemporary capitalist economy with minimal military expenditure, and this experience has remained a part of history.

One can approach the problem from the other side—from the opposite end, as it were. Since the war, the U.S. economy has invariably been oriented toward and based on militarism. Initially, this apparently stimulated it. But then this useless squandering of resources, unneeded by society, resulted in an astronomical state debt and other ills and defects. It turned out that ultimately super-militarization leads to the growing exacerbation of the situation in the country itself and puts the economy of others into a fevered state. The recent panic on the New York stock exchange and other stock exchanges of the world, unprecedented in almost 60 years, was a serious symptom and a serious warning.

The third point: unequal and exploitative relations with developing countries. In spite of all the fantastic innovations in the area of creation of a second artificial nature, developed capitalism has not been able to do without the resources of these countries and cannot do without them. This is objective reality. Relying on the destruction of the world's economic relations that have taken shape historically is dangerous and will not provide a way out. But the use of the resources of others through neocolonialist methods, the arbitrary rule of transnational corporations, the bondage of debts amounting to trillions which obviously cannot be repaid are leading into a dead end.

This gives rise to serious problems in the capitalist countries themselves, too. There are more than enough speculations here, and their essence consists in making the Third World a kind of scapegoat for many difficulties, including the falling living standards in the centers of capital. Attempts are constantly made to consolidate a nation on a chauvinistic basis, to involve the working people in a partnership for exploiting other countries and, at the same time, to induce them to put up with the policies of new capitalist modernization.

However, none of these or other similar tricks can resolve the problem itself; they can only damp it down for a time. Unequal exchange remains and ultimately leads to an explosion. The possibility of such an outcome seems to be dawning on Western leaders who are looking for a way out in all sorts of palliatives. Indeed, the novelty of the international economic and political processes of our time has not yet been understood and mastered to the end. But one must move toward this, for the processes that have been set in motion are endowed with the force of objective law. There will be either a collapse or a joint search for a new economic order which would take into account the interests of first, second, and third parties on the basis of equality.

A way toward establishing such an order seems to be taking shape now. It means the implementation of the concept: disarmament for development. So, searching for the answer to our third question, we see that the situation does not look insoluble; contradictions in this sphere, too, yield to modifications. But for this one has to understand realities and build practical actions in the spirit of the new thinking. This, in turn, will make movement toward a safer world easier. In a word, here too is a historic choice dictated by the laws of a world which is in many ways interconnected and integral.

There is yet another most important or even crucial circumstance: Socialism is an integral part of this world. Having started its history 70 years ago and then turning into a worldwide system, it has determined the aspect of the 20th century. It is now embarking upon a new stage of its development, once again demonstrating the possibilities that are inherent in it. One can imagine, for example, what a great reserve of peaceful coexistence lies in restructuring in the Soviet Union alone! By allowing us to attain world standards in all the most important economic indices, it will enable a vast and most rich country to join the universal division of labor and resources on a scale which has never been seen before. Its great scientific, technical, and production potential will become a considerably more important part of world economic relations. This will expand and strengthen, in a crucial way, the material base of the all-embracing system of peace and international security. This is, incidentally, another of the most important aspects of restructuring and the place reserved for it in the fate of modern civilization.

The class struggle and other manifestations of social contradictions will exert influence on the objective process in favor of peace. The front-ranking forces of the workers' movement are looking for ways toward raising its political level. They have to act in a far from simple, new and changing situation. Not only the issues of protecting the economic rights and interests of the masses but also the issues of struggle for democracy, including democracy at production enterprises, have been presented in a different way. For example, partnership is quite often offered to workers, yet a kind of partnership when access to the holy of holies of business is shut tightly and when free election of management staff is out of the question.

The Western world is full of theories that the working class is disappearing. They write that it has already dissolved in the middle class, has been socially reborn, and so on and so forth. Sure, there are large and considerable changes in the working class, but the class opponent is vainly lulling itself and trying to disorganize, disorientate and confuse the workers' movement. The working class now, in its new social frontiers, represents a numerically superior force and possesses the potential to play a decisive role, especially at the sharp turning points of history. The motives provoking it can be various, and one of the probable ones is the senseless militarization of the economy. The transition to a new phase of the technological revolution on a militaristic basis is a strong catalyst, especially as that is the path to war; and that means that it affects all strata of the population and expands the extent of mass protest beyond the limits of economic demands.

So, the ruling class and the lords of monopoly capital will have to make a choice here, too. We are convinced—and science confirms it—that, at the present level of technology and organization of production, putting industry back onto a civilian footing and demilitarization of the economy are possible. At the same time, this will be a choice in favor of peace.

The same applies to the consequences of the crisis in relations between the developed and developing worlds. If things go as far as the verge of an explosion, and it turns out to be impossible to continue to enjoy benefits through exploitation of the Third World, the question of the unacceptability and intolerability of a system which is incapable of existing without it could reach the political level, and very sharply. In gerneral, and from this point of view, capitalism faces hard choices: to take matters as far as an explosion, or to take account of the laws of an interrelated, integral world, which demands a balance of interests on the basis of equal rights. According to the situation as we see it, this is not only necessary, but possible, especially as forces in the Third World itself are operating in that very direction.

It is customary to talk of the decline of the national liberation movement, but what is going on here, obviously, is a substitution of concepts and a non-recognition of the new nature of the situation. If the liberating impulse which operated at the stage of the struggle for political independence is meant, then it is weakening, of course, and that is natural. But the impulse necessary for the new, present stage of the development of the Third World is only just taking shape; and it is necessary to be clearly aware of this and not to fall into pessimism. The factors from which this impulse is formed are varied and heterogeneous. Here there is a powerful economic process which sometimes take on paradozical forms: for example, some countries retain features on underdevelopment and emerge at the level of great powers in world economic and politics. There is also a growth of political energy in the course of formation of nations and consolidation of national states in the genuine sense, a considerable place among whom is occupied by countries with revolutionary regimes. There are also grapes of wrath on the soil of the glaring polarization of poverty and wealth and the contrast between possibilities and the real situation. The force of originality and independent action is working in an increasingly pronounced and active way in organizations reflecting the processes of the inter-state consolidation of developing countries.

This is characteristic of all organizations to a greater or lesser degree, and there are a number of them—the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, ASEAN, the Organization of American States, the Latin American Economic System, the South Pacific Forum, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the Islamic Conference Organization and, especially, the Nonaligned Movement. They reflect the kaleidoscope of contradictory interests, requirements, needs, ideologies, claims, and prejudices of the present stage. All of them, although they have already become a noticeable factor in world politics, have not yet developed their potential; this potential is colossal, and it is difficult to foretell its results over the next half century. One thing is clear: this is a whole world, which is seeking the organizational forms for its effective and equal participation in resolving issues concerning all mankind; it encompasses 2.5 billion people. One may surmise that not only its influence on world policy but also its original role in forming the world economy of the future will make gigantic strides forward. For all the might of transnational capital, it is not this that will determine the ways in which the Third World will progress, but it is more likely itself to be compelled to adapt to the independent choice which the peoples themselves have made or will make. It is these peoples and the organizations representing them that have a vital interest in the new world economic order.

There is another aspect of no little importance. Within the capitalist world itself the development of recent decades has given rise to new forms of social contradictions and movements. Such are the movement against the nuclear threat, the movements for the protection of the natural environment, against racial discrimination, against the policy that splits society into the successful and the doomed, against the calamities of entire industrial zones that have fallen victim to the new capitalist modernization. Millions are participating in these movements; prominent scientific and cultural personalities, nationally and internationally acknowledged authorities, are becoming their inspirers and leaders. Social democratic, socialist and labor parties and mass organizations similar to or linked with these are steadily continuing to play an important role in the political process in a number of countries, and in some places are increasing their influence.

In all respects — economic, political, and social — we can see in the modern world the tenet that Lenin considered to be one of the most profound in Marxism is finding everywhere its justification: that is, as a historical action establishes itself, so too the number of the masses who are involved in the action will grow. This is always the truest sign and the most powerful factor of social progress, and that means peace. Indeed, the greatness and the novelty of our time lie in the fact that the peoples are increasingly openly and publicly present at the front of the historical stage. Their positions are now such as to make it possible to compel their being taken into account, and not just in the final analysis, but directly.

Thereby another new truth shines forth: constant choice is becoming increasingly characteristic of the movement of history at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, but the rightness of that choice depends upon how and to what degree the interests and intentions of millions, hundreds of millions, are taken into account. From this the responsibility of politicians is derived. For a real policy can be such, only if this novelty of the time is taken into consideration. The human factor is now emerging at the political level, not as a remote and more or less elemental result of the life and activities of the masses of the people and their intentions. It is irrupting into world affairs directly. Without an understanding of this, in other words, without new thinking based on present-day realities and the will of the peoples, policy becomes an unpredictable improvization, which is risky both for a country itself and for others. There is no long-term support for such a policy.

These are the grounds for our optimistic view of the future and the prospects for the creation of an all-embracing international security system. Our position on defense issues is quite logically linked with this. As long as the danger of war remains and as long as social revenge-seeking remains the pivot of the strategy and militarist programs of the West, we shall continue in the future to do everything necessary to maintain our defensive power at a level that rules out a military superiority of imperialism over socialism. [applause]

Comrades, in these festive days we are paying due tribute to the merits of the international Communist movement. In the October Revolution, which has retained to this day its international stimulus, is the source of its viability. The international Communist movement is growing and developing on the soil of individual countries; but there is something in common in the very image of the communist, whatever nation he may belong to and in whatever country he may work. This is his dedication to the idea of a better communist society and his loyalty to the working people, above all to the working class, the struggle for their vital interests, for peace and democracy. [applause]

I believe that on this our anniversary the Third Communist International also deserves to be mentioned. We have yet to restore the full truth about it and to write its authentic and complete history. For all the shortcomings and miscalculations in its work, and however bitter it may be to recall certain pages of its history, the Comintern is part of the great past of our movement. Born of October, it not only became a school of internationalism and revolutionary brotherhood, it made internationalism a practical weapon in the struggle for the interests of working people, for the social progress of the nations and peoples. From its ranks arose the cohorts of the true knights of the 20th century: people of duty and honor, of lofty flight and inflexible courage, who felt the grief of the millions of the oppressed throughout the world, heard their call and summoned them to the struggle. [applause]

The Communists were the first to sound the alarm about the peril of fascism. They were the first to rise up in the struggle against it, and they were its first victims. They gathered from all over the world and were the first to take up the armed fight against fascism in Spain. They were the first to raise the banner of resistance on behalf of the freedom and national dignity of their peoples. And it was the Communists, above all, the Soviet Communists, who made a decisive contribution to the devastating defeat of fascism in World War II. [applause]

Later, and now, with the same irreconcilability and bravery, the Communists are in the first ranks against all reaction and all obscurantism. They are people of legendary heroism and self-sacrifice. They are not just individuals, but hundreds of thousands of people, organized and united by a single will, iron discipline, and incorruptible ideological commitment. The days of the Comintern, of the Informburo, and even of binding international conferences, have passed; but the international Communist movement exists. All parties are fully and irreversibly independent. We said that as long ago as the 20th congress. True, it took time to free ourselves from the old habits. Now, however, this is an immutable reality. In that sense the 27th CPSU Congress was also a final and irrevocable milestone. I believe we have shown this by our actions, in our relations with the fraternal parties and in the course of restructuring. [applause]

The international Communist movement is at the crossroads, and like world progress itself, its driving force. [sentence as heard] The Communist Parties are seeking their new place in the profound changes at the turn of the centuries. Meanwhile, their international movement is renewing itself, gaining cohesion by respect, who, who renewed norms of trust, equality of rights and sincere solidarity. [sentence as heard]

The movement is open to dialogue, to cooperation, to interaction and alliance with all other revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces. The CPSU has no doubt about the future of the communist movement, the carrier of the alternative to capitalism, the movement of the bravest and most consistent fighters for peace, and for the independence and progress of their countries, for friendship among all peoples of the earth. [applause]

Comrades: The most important milestone in post-October world history is the emergence of the world socialist system. For four decades now, socialism has been the common destiny of many peoples and a highly important factor of modern civilization. Our party and the Soviet people value greatly their opportunity to interact with our friends, who for several decades now have borne, as we do, responsibility at state level for socialism and for its advance.

All the socialist states have amassed much interesting and useful experience in solving the social, economic and ideological tasks of building a new life. The socialist system and the quest and experience which it has tested in practice are of universal human significance. It has offered to the world its answers to the fundamental questions of human life and appropriated its humanist and collectivist values, at the center of which stands the working man. The socialist system instills in him feelings of dignity, of being master of his country; it gives him social protection and confidence in the future, opening ample scope for acquisition of knowledge and culture, and creating conditions for realizing of individual abilities and talents. What has been achieved by peoples of the socialist countries is the object of our common pride, the more so since it is both the result of many years of fruitful cooperation and the fruits of a truly fraternal intercourse of unprecedented breadth and openness, of citizens, of party and public organizations, of production collectives of creative unions and cultural institutions, family and personal ties and the joint toil and study of tens of thousands of people.

From the heights of what has been covered, much is clearer. Life has amended our conceptions of the logical patterns and speeds of the transition to socialism and understanding of socialism's role on a world scale. We are far from thinking that all the progressive changes taking place in the world are due only to socialism, but the way in which the most important problems for mankind are presented and in which the search for their solution is proceeding affirms an indissoluble link between world progress and socialism as an international force. [applause] This link is especially visible in the struggle to avert a nuclear catastrophe and in the presence of a correlation of world forces that permits various peoples to defend their social and political choice with greater success.

The experience accumulated permits relations among the socialist countries to be better constructed on generally recognized principles. These are unconditional and total equality, the responsibility of the ruling party for affairs in its state, and for patriotic service to its people; concern for the general cause of socialism, respect for one another, a serious attitude toward what has been achieved and tried out by friends; voluntary and varied cooperation, and the strict observation by all of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The practice of socialist internationalism rests upon these.

The world of socialism rises before us now in all its national and social variation. This is good and useful. We have become convinced that unity does not mean being identical or uniform. We have also become convinced that socialism does not, and cannot have, a model against which all are compared. The criterion for its development at every stage and in every country is the totality and quality of the real successes which have reconstructed society in the interests of the working people. [applause]

We also hnow what damage can be done by a weakening of the internationalist principle in mutual relations of socialist states, by deviation from the principles of mutual benefit and mutual aid, and by a lack of attention to the general interests of socialism in action on the world arena. It is with satisfaction that we state that recently our relations with all socialist states have acquired dynamism and are improving. Of course, cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA has become more fruitful and more businesslike, which, incidentally, in no way of principle separates their participants from the other socialist countries. The 27th Congress gave a precise definition of the stance of the CPSU in politics and in all other areas of our cooperation with each socialist country. What is decisive is what ensures a combination of mutual interest and those of socialism as a whole. The strengthening of friendship and the all-round development of cooperation with the socialist countries is the main priority of the international policy of the Soviet Union. Welcoming today the delegations from the socialist countries, in their person we welcome the peoples of the socialist countries. [applause]

Dear Comrades, esteemed foreign guests, all ourintentions and accomplishments have been and are being inspired by the life-giving force of Communist ideas. These ideas were inscribed on the banner of the revolution. They roused millions of people, who came to believe and cherish them and who accepted them as the goal and meaning of their life, to struggle and labor accomplishments. The people's work and struggle, their immeasurable persistence in attaining a freely chosen goal, their joys and sorrows—all this came to be embodied in the reality of the present-day socialism which proceeds along the path of revolutionary restructuring. It is in this that the force of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the force of the revolution consists and continues. [applause]

Throughout the entire period of these 70 years the Soviet people have been led by their tested vanguard, the Leninist party. The party and the revolution, the party and the Great October Socialist Revolution are inseparable. [applause]

There would have been no victory of the socialist revolution without a party, equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory. There would have been no socialism, nor our great state, nor the base upon which there currently proceed the renewal of all aspects of public life and the acceleration of the country's social and economic development without a party that learned how to build a new society.

Time demands that in the new conditions, too, the party should proceed at the head of the revolutionary renewal, that it should persistently and consistently enhance the effectiveness of its policy, and that it should develop democratization along all the directions and at all levels of public life. The growing role of the party is a logical process. However, this role is defined least of all by words or formalistic rituals. It is to be found within the depth and honesty of analysis and appraisals, in the fact that policy has been thought out and in resoluteness of action, in the skill to make compatible the private and the collective, the personal and the public, the present-day and the long-term. It is to be found in the enhancement of the responsibility of all party organizations and of each Communist for the course of events in society.

Our party has just under 20 million Communists, one tenth of the country's adult population. It is an enormous force. However, the potential of the party's influence, the party's pressure on restructuring has not yet been fully brought into play.

The preparations for and the holding of the 19th all-union party conference ought to give serious impetus to improve this complicated and painstaking work. The destiny of the great cause of the revolution, of the great cause of Lenin is now in our hands. We are again proceeding along an untrodden ppath, and this places special responsibility on the party and on all of us. To use Lenin's words: The time of revolution is a time for action, action from above and from below. Such is the tradition of the party of a new type, right from its very first steps. Such is the demand to the vanguard of the Soviet society at the current stage of socialist development, a stage which is a most complicated one, but also one which inspires by its novelty.

Comrades, mankind crossed the threshold of real history in 1917. However, the 70 years that have elapsed, the economic shocks and social cataclysms which gave birth to fascism and World War II, the Cold War, and the arms race, the threat of a thermonuclear disaster and of global crises bear witness to the fact that the past still has a considerable proportion of mankind firmly in its grip. Nevertheless, we are right to regard as unique the time in which we live, the meeting point of the 20th and 21st centuries, both as far as the depth of social transformations and the global scale of the tasks that have arisen before the peoples of the world are concerned.

Today we see that mankind is indeed not doomed to exist in perpetuity the way it used to live prior to October 1917. Socialism has become a mighty, growing and developing reality. It is precisely the GOSR, it is precisely socialism that indicate for mankind the routes leading to the future and the new values of genuinely human relations. [applause]

Collectivism instead of selfishness, freedom and equality instead of exploitation and oppression, genuine people's power instead of the tyranny of a minority, an increasing role for commonsense and humanity instead of the elemental and harsh interplay of social forces, and general human unity and peace instead of discord, dissension and wars. The present generation, and not only in our own country, is accountable for the fate of civilization and life itself on earth. It will depend on them in the final analysis whether the beginning of a fresh millenium in world history will be its tragic epilogue or an inspiring prologue to the future.

Only a little over 13 [as heard] years remain before the beginning of the 21st century, and in 2017 our people and all progressive mankind will be ushering in the centenary of the Great October Revolution. What kind of world will it be when it steps over the 100 years' mark of our revolution? What kind of socialism will it be, and what degree of maturity will have been achieved by the world community of states and peoples? Let us not speculate, but we should remember that it is at the present time that the foundations of the future are being laid. It is our duty to preserve our unrepeatable civilization and life itself on earth, to achieve the triumph of reason over nuclear madness, and to create every condition for the free and all-round development of man and mankind. [applause]

We see the possibility for endless progress. We realize that it is not easy to achieve it, but this does not intimidate us. On the contrary, it inspires us, since it fills life with a lofty humane purpose and profound meaning.

In October 1917 we departed the old world and irreversibly rejected it. We are traveling to a new world, the world of communism. We shall never deviate from this path. [prolonged and stormy applause]

TASS Reports Celebration Meeting 2 Nov

LD021932 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 2 Nov 87

["Kremlin Palace: The Afternoon Sitting Is Over"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

"The stand of the Soviet youth is unambiguous: The reorganization process is our part of the revolution." These words of greetings by the Soviet youth were voiced in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses today at the celebration meeting on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Thus how the young people of the country expressed their attitude to the reorganization process.

These words of greetings from the young came at the end of today's sittings of the celebration meeting which had begun with a detailed report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

The Soviet leader reviewed the stages of the 70-year-long history of the Land of the Soviets, and spoke of the achievements and difficulties of the reorganization process, of the impact of the October Revolution on the character and development of international relations, and of the acutest problems of the contemporary world.

The general secretary's report had been heard by people on all continents. Radio Moscow broadcast a reportage in 75 languages of the peoples of the world. The televiewers of many countries could watch the celebration meeting in live telecasts in the Kremlin.

Then both Soviet participants in the meeting and foreign guests took the floor: 163 delegations from 119 countries of the world had arrived in Moscow to attend the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, the leader of Polish delegation, was the first among foreign guests to take the floor. Then the top leaders of other socialist countries—Erich Honecker, leading delegation of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Gustav Husak, leading the Czechoslovak delegation, and Todor Zhivkov, leading the Bulgarian delegation—on behalf of their countries, peoples and parties congratulated the Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Speeches of greetings were made by Mauno Koivisto of Finland, and by Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party.

The participants in the meeting warmly cheered the speech made by Kostantin Sinozerskiy who seven decades ago had participated in the assualt of the Winter Palace where the last bourgeois government of Russian had had its sitting.

Along with the veteran of the revolution, other speakers from the Kremlin rostrum were Vladimir Chicherov, leader of fitters' team from Leningrad, Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Aleksandr Kolesnikov, a mineworker from the Donetsk coal fields in the Ukraine, and Edita Kupca, who heads a secondary school in the Baltic Republic of Latvia.

The celebration meeting in the Kremlin will be continued tomorrow.

GOSR 'Festive Session' Continues

LD030819 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] The festive session in Moscow: As has already been reported, the joint festive session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian federation devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution continued its work at 1000 in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

Those gathered met with applause: Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Yeltsin, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Medvedev, Razumovskiy, and Kapitonov.

Right now the participants' speeches at the session are continuing.

Gromyko Addresses Session

LD021927 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Opening speech by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the festive meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets, in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Dear Comrades, esteemed foreign guests: We have assembled here today, in this Kremlin Hall, in connection with a glorious festive occasion for the Soviet people and for working people the world over, the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. [applause]

It is with emotion that we turn our memory back to that October day in 1917, when the party of the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, took the helm of this enormous country. It was able to do so because it had behind it the working class, the working peasantry, the workers of all nations and ethnic groups in Russia, the masses who directly made the revolution. The 70th anniversary of Soviet power is a horizon, and as we approach it we have the right to look back and say with confidence: Yes, we have travelled an enormous path. There were obstacles and difficulties in the way, and a great deal of sweat and blood has been shed, but our people conquered and overcame everything.

The results of that path are the splendid victories of socialism, the unfading values of socialist social relations, the victory of Marxist-Leninist teaching, and the triumph of the idea of proletarian internationalism. Soviet people are ushering in the 70th anniversary of Great October at a time of majestic revolutionary restructuring. A mighty process of renewal of the entire society is taking place. A powerful acceleration was imparted to the country's development by the 27th CPSU Congress, and the entire Soviet people now are working under the banner of consistently implementing its policy. We welcome here today people who personally participated in the Great October Revolution and the Civil War. [applause]

There are not so many of them left now, these fighters of the Leninist guard, but their feat continues to shine with the same grandeur from the peak of today's 70th anniversary. We pay our respects to all the heroes of labor who, during the first 5-year plans, created a mighty socialist industry and socialist agriculture. It is with pride that we pronounce kind words about those who fought for our motherland's freedom and independence during the Great Patriotic War. Blessed memory and eternal glory to those who defended the gains of October in the deadly encounter with fascism! A deep bow of respect to the veterans of that war who are living among us! [applause]

We welcome here the members of the Central Committee of our party, and in their person, our entire party of Communists, numbering more than 19,000,000 people. [applause] It was the party that led us to the victory of October, and which for 70 years now has been leading the people confidently, under the banner of Lenin, along the path of socialism toward new successes. [applause]

We welcome the deputies of the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets, and together with them, the army of over 2,000,000 representatives elected by the people at all levels. They are a powerful force in the transformations taking place. [applause]

From here, within the walls of the Kremlin, we congratulate the entire Soviet people and each citizen individually on the holiday. We have no nameless heroes. Everyone must know that their labor is needed by society. This honest labor, performed without letup, is the best contribution to the historic cause of the restructuring. Congratulations on the 70th anniversary of Great October to all of you, dear fellow citizens! [applause]

The cause of October lives in our country, but not only in ours; it can be seen in the successes of the socialist countries. It is in the deeds of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, the national liberation struggle of the peoples, and movements of all progressive forces on earth for peace against the arms race—particularly the nuclear arms race—and against militarization of outer space. The Great October Revolution exerted a tremendous influence on the entire planet and on other peoples. Its victory also had a decisive impact on international relations. Concepts such as genuine equal cooperation, peaceful coexistence, and disarmament, born of October, entered the language of communication between countries. The respect shown toward the Soviet state, toward our party and people, is witnessed in the fact that taking part in today's celebration with us are 163 delegations from 119 countries. The...[applause, interrupting Gromyko]

The list of names and surnames of the foreign guests alone says a great deal. It includes outstanding statesmen, political and public figures, renowened heroes, and people who are famous in their own countries and widely known throughout the world. [applause]

Thank you, dear foreign guests, for coming here to our celebration. We extend to you a cheerful and ardent welcome. [applause]

I declare the joint festive session of the Central Committee of he Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution open! [applause, followed by Soviet anthem]

I give the floor to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the report. [applause]

Marchuk Speech

LD030016 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1112 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Speech by Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, at the festive meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] [Andrey Gromyko] The floor is given to Comrade Guriy Marchuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Hero of Socialist Labor. [applause]

[Marchuk] Dear comrades, esteemed guests: The working people of the land of the soviets and all progressive people around the globe are festively celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The world's first proletarian revolution was an event of worldwide historic significance. It was a victorious breakthrough into the future and opened up real ways to realize mankind's great dream: the creation of a society having no other goal than the good and happiness of working people.

The creative mastery of the October Revolution's legacy and Lenin's strictures in the sphere of science and practice make it possible to make the best use of the inexhaustible strength of the socialist system and the wealth of theory of scientific socialism to accomplish the complex tasks of acceleration and restructuring. Marxism-Leninism has with enormous energy defined the historic method of the socialist era; revealed the social forces behind it; been a connecting link between the development of natural science, the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, and the progressive shifts regarding science and man; and become the scientific foundation for a new world outlook.

From Lenin's GOELRO [electrification of Russia] plan which lit up the boundless expanses of Russia, to the space rockets which have been penetrating the secrets of the universe, the paths were travelled by Soviet science. Science became the foundation of the intellectual and spiritual potential of developing socialism. It was in step with the working people who triumphed over internal and external enemies, with the workers who accomplished the hitherto unprecedented industrialization of the country, with the peasants who were mastering new methods of collective farming on the land and with the soldiers who defended the historic gains of the Great

October Revolution. Science made it possible to create the *Lenin*, the first atomic-powered icebreaker, and the widescale use of electronics.

It is impossible even to cursorily to enumerate the fruits of the creative thought of Soviet scientists, who have put their talent at the service of man and society. Into whatever depths this thought has penetrated, whatever heights it has achieved and whatever secrets it has revealed, it has always served peace and humanity everywhere. The contribution by Soviet scientists to the progress of world science is truly vast and intestimable. It is closely connected with the names of Vernadskiy, Pavlov, Bardin, Baykov, Sergey Ivanovich and Nikolay Ivanovich Vavilov, Kurchatov, Korolev, Keldysh, Lavrentyev, and hunreds of our fellow countrymen, who have been bearing on high the banner of Soviet scientific thought.

In the 70 years since the October Revolution, science in the Land of the Soviets has become a powerful factor in scientific and technical progress. It is ensuring the transition to fundamentally new equipment and technology. It has put on the agenda the questions of three-dimensional television, powerful electronic computers, fresh sources of energy, the formation of new galaxies and stars, genetic engineering, the biological protection of agricultural crops, the latest technology on an industrial scale and much else. Each fresh height conquered by the selfless labor of Soviet scientists provides fresh views of the path yet to be traversed and opens up new prospects.

At the present stage of our society's development, the creative role of science both in developing productive forces and in enhancing the intellectual power of socialism is increasing immeasurably. The strategic course aimed at accelerating the development of Soviet science was laid down by the decisions of the 27th Party Congress. It was laid down thoroughly.

In his report at today's festive meeting Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reflected the very profound perspectives that have occurred in our country over the 70 years, and formulated the party's constructive program for the further improvement of our society. This is indeed a program for all our science.

Without a profound reorganization and an extensive and all-round democratization of scientific life it is impossible fully to reveal the intellectual scientific potential of socialist society, reach world standards in all the main areas of research, realize in practice front-ranking scientific and technological ideas, and carry out a fundamental reform of the management of the economy.

However, we can not remain content without scientific achievements. Complacency and an easy-going attitude are incompatible with the creative spirit of science. The development of the various fields of science is not proceeding evenly. Alongside the advanced sectors, there are also areas that are lagging behind, where the scale and level of research still can not satisfy us. In order to reach front-ranking positions and occupy leading places in world science in the key areas of social and natural sciences, we need to intensify research in a number of fields of experimental physics, microelectronics and pure substances technology and to expand research in computer equipment, biophysics, biochemistry, genetics, immunology, medicine, economics, history and philosophy.

Coming up most acutely on the agenda is the question of a major renewal of the organizational and economic mechanism for administration of science, and the scientific and technological development of the country's economy. The present reorientation of science is closely linked with a deepening and expansion of advanced fundamental research and the development of new areas in this research. One may say with confidence that the Soviet Union is in close cooperation with fraternal socialist countries confidently achieving world positions in scientific, technical and socioeconomic progress.

Science comprises new political thinking and an interpretation of the realities and contradictions of our era. It opens up broad horizons for developing the world of socialism and consolidating its socioeconomic, spiritual and moral potential. It provides fresh insight into complex processes and phenomena in human society and realistic ways and opportunities to avert a nuclear catastrophe. The new thinking is unfailingly focused on man, his full-blooded life, all-embracing creativity and survival on our globe.

The strategy of restructuring is also an embodiment of the ideas of scientific Communism and a creative approach to studying man and society and the problems and prospects for his development and improvement. It is the truly revolutionary science of our times, which is being employed by society at a crucial stage in its development. It accords most fully with the nature of socialism, which is being built consciously on the basis of the laws of history and reveals most clearly its humane and creative character.

A strictly scientific understanding of real social processes, the most complex of nature's laws, and the history of human activities is an unfailing condition for a continuation of the cause of the Great October Revolution on the threshold of the new millenium into which the developing socialist society is entering.

In festively marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, scientists, along with the entire Soviet people and under the guidance of the Communist Party, are devoting their creative abilities and all the strength of their reason, selfless toil and talent to the revolutionary restructuring of our society and the acceleration of its socioeconomic development for the sake of the homeland's prosperity, the triumph of the cause of socialism and the preservation and consolidation of peace on earth. [applause]

Foreign Leaders Speak at Moscow Ceremony

Jaruzelski Addresses Meeting

LD022121 Warsaw PAP in English 1831 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Address by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and chairman of the PPR Council of State, at the festive meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets in the Kremlin on 2 November]

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 2—Empires rose and fell, kings and emperors were crowned and deprived of their crowns. Centuries passed by before a state was founded 70 years ago which was first to have placed a hammer and a sickle in its banner.

The history of progress is a centuries-long "road through suffering" of millions of working people of various nationalities and from various continents. The fraternity of "ye starvelings" was born of the class and moral protest against the world of evil and wrong, exploitation and suffering.

How many a time was that world confronted with challenges. But it was only the Great Socialist October Revolution, which, focusing the achievements of revolutionary and liberation struggles like a lens, opened a new era in the history of mankind. It bore a fundamental impact on the development of the international communist and worker movement, of all global forces of progress. Putting into effect the ideas of internationalism, condemning colonialism, racism, and chauvinism it became a component of the history of many societies.

We are truely happy to be with you on the anniversary of the Great October. Please accept fraternal congratulations on this festive day from the Polish United Workers' Party and from the working people of the Polish People's Republic.

We express deep respect for the nation which in barely several decades covered such a gigantic path.

The Soviet people, the citizens of this tremendous country, from Brest to Vladivostok, from Murmansk to Dushanbe, are the heroes of today's holiday.

The workers who laid the foundations of the industrial might of the socialist superpower. The soldiers of the Red Army which saved Europe, which dealt the decisive blow to genocidal fascism. The Soviet women who built and fought, who faced the hardships of life with boldness and dignity, who shed so many tears. The scientists and constructors who gave their country all their knowledge and talents. The artists who made Soviet culture famous through their wonderful works.

An unpaved way is the most difficult to treat. History did not spare hard tests. There were times of cold and hunger. There were mistakes, there was suffering. But the revolutionary vision, the most profound patriotism and self-sacrificing efforts gave birth to a (?tower) which can never be undermined by anything or anyone.

The Leninist idea of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems has been taking on a shape since the revolution's very first day. Its realization has assumed a special importance in the era of nuclear missiles.

The contemporary world is divided. It is molested by conflicts and discrepancies. Imperialism and militarist circles still count on reversing the historic process. The course of events has more than once eradicated such endeavours.

Nowadays, the life and security of nations are becoming ever more closely globally interdependant. Problems and challenges are multiplying and they can be met only with common effort. The philosophy and ethics of the new way of thinking about peace, adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the bold, constructive Soviet initiatives find ever greater response in the world's public. Mankind finally wants to live confident of tomorrow, in a world free of mass extermination weapons. This goal is a realistic one. A first step to meet it has already been made. May the next ones follow as soon as possible.

It was with great attention that we listened to the report by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. The clear and principled analysis it includes buries deep in the minds and hearts. It bears out the intellectual boldness and moral force of the party, optimism and dynamism of actions, owing to which revolutionaries could so many times "attain the unattainable".

The impulse for restructuring was born of a creative understanding of Marxism-Leninism, of deep faith in the future. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the inspirator and helmsman of this historic turn. Its present general line constitutes an up-dating of the idea of the Great October—in its essence it deserves the term of Leninism of the end of the 20th century. The breath of "Soviet spring" is refreshing. It leaves no one indifferent.

Watershed times are coming for socialism. Transformations reaching to the core are coming. They reflect the objective regularity of historical development. This is, therefore, a lasting and irreversible process.

The socialist formation has, as in a fast-motion film, covered several eras in a historically short period. Today it is simultaneously going through as if a stage of renaissance and enlightment. "Renaissance" because it addresses man more broadly, with all of its substance, it re-discovers all the humanistic values of human life. "Enlightment"—because it fully opens itself to rationalism, Marxist dialectics, to new achievements of science and culture. Placing socialism on tracks of a faster, comprehensive development—such is the common historic responsibility of our parties with regard to our nations, and the whole progressive world.

Many generations of Poles suffered in captivity, fought for freedom in heroic and so tragic uprisings. But it was only the October Revolution which created real conditions for us to restore our free statehood. Thousands of sons of our nation partook in revolutionary struggles. They were in the front lines of those who stormed the walls of the "Russian bastille."

We will keep in eternal memory the historic role of the Soviet Union in liberating Poland, in saving her from Nazi extermination. You did also support us in the most difficult years of the reconstruction and industrialization of the country. We could always count on Soviet friendship.

The fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, with the states of the socialist community is a never-failing guarantee of the independence and territorial integrity of the Polish People's Republic. We will safeguard this great accomplishment steadfastly.

We are building socialism in Poland, creatively reconciling universal rules with historically shaped, different conditions. The 9th extraordinary PUWP Congress adopted and the 10th congress affirmed and developed a programme of socialist renewal. We are telling the nation the truth. The deep reforms are a difficult and immensely complex process. But one must not turn back. We have to pay a high price for lack of consistency, for delays and failing to act. Today we know—sometimes it must be more difficult if it is to get really better.

Never before have we been so close to each other. The convergence of goals and search of the process of reform taking place in Poland and the Soviet Union causes the relations between our parties, states and nations to attain a new, especially high quality.

We are convinced that the programme of restructuring, drawing from the fertile soil of the Great October, will materialize to the full. Let it contribute to the happiness and prosperity of your nation. Let it bring benefits to all progressive forces and peace in the world.

Long live Lenin's party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Long live the Soviet superpower born of the Socialist October Revolution.

Long live the great Soviet Nation.

Long live anti-imperialist solidarity between the working people.

May peace and socialism consolidate.

Zhivkov Speech

LD021901 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1318 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, at the festive meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin; in Bulgarian with superimposed Russian translation—live]

[Text] Dear Comrades! Dear Soviet brothers and sisters!

Seven decades ago the memorable words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin resounded across the world. The workers and peasants revolution, the necessity of which was constantly spoken of by the Bolsheviks, had taken place. [applause]

The more the years distance us from that most significant event of the 20th century, the stronger and more inspirationally does its inexhaustible political, ideological, and moral potential open up. New roads to world history have been under construction for 7 decades, and a new type of civilization has been being established. For 7 decades, epoch-making transformations of the modern world have been organically linked to the cause of October, as has creation of the world socialist system and crash of the colonialist system, as well as the raising to a new level of mankind's struggle for democracy and progress. The experience and the lessons of October have, for 7 decades, been multiplying the strength and inexhaustible wealth of our immortal Marxist-Leninist teaching. For 7 decades, October and its most precious offspring, the great Soviet Union, have had an irresistible effect on the course of world social development. [applause]

The magnificent deeds done by the Soviet people, under the leadership of the party, cannot be counted. Countless are the ordeals through which they have passed. Countless the sacrifices they have made. Still they defended the socialist social system for themselves and for the whole of mankind; they made a decisive contribution to the victory over fascism, and today they wield a transforming influence over the modern world. [applause]

Filled with such thoughts and treasured sentiments, with such fraternal and internationalist pride, on behalf of the Central Committee of the BCP, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; on behalf of the Bulgarian people, I congratulate you with all my heart on your very greatest and most brilliant festival, on our common festival, the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. [applause]

You know, dear Soviet brothers and sisters, how great, how sacred is the love of our people for you and for the motherland of October. We Bulgarians are especially proud of the fact that since October has existed on Soviet soil, since that very moment, it has also existed on Bulgarian soil. It exists as an idea, as an example of the consciousness and struggle of our working class, working peasantry and popular intelligentsia. [applause]

In assimilating the inestimable lessons of the October Revolution, the BCP, under the leadership of Georgy Dimitrov, got under way a determined battle for implementation of the innermost aspirations and hopes of our people. September 1944 is our Bulgarian October. [applause] With the decisive help of the Soviet Army, we overthrew the bourgeois system and carried out a socialist revolution which has become a continuation of the Great October in the conditions of our country. The banner of 9 September flies proudly above Bulgaria today. This banner is a burning particle of the victorious communist banner of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. [applause]

Comrades: The 70th anniversary of the victory of the Great October is a historic peak. From this peak there open up new prospects of the struggle for implementation of socialist ideals. With Leninist audacity, wisdom, and resolution, the CPSU is leading the Soviet people along the road of the redical renewal of socialist society. The BCP and the whole Bulgarian people warmly welcome and support the revolutionary restructuring that is under way in Soviet society. We see therein a continuation of the immortal cause of October. We have once again become convinced of this, listening here in this hall to the heartfelt and gripping report by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

As you will recall, we are setting ourselves the goal of achieving a qualitatively new state of socialism in Bulgaria by implementing profound restructuring in all areas of social life. This has also dictated the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the main provisions and conceptions approved by the July 1987 plenum of the BCP Central Committee. Our work is given poweful impetus by the decisions and actions of the CPSU. We are inspired with confidence by further deepening of the course aimed at all-round cooperation and bringing together of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. A fundamental coincidence of aims and directions of restructuring in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union strengthens our will and conviction, and we are filled with firm resolution, shoulder to shoulder with you, to bring to completion this revolutionary work with you.

Comrades: The restructuring which encompasses all aspects of life in Soviet society also has great significance for the destiny of the world. True to the spirit of October, the party of Soviet communists has formulated a new philosphy of peace, a new political mentality, and has elaborated a program of action directed at renewal of international relations. At the present time, all people are asking themselves with alarm: In what direction will the planet earth move, to peace and cooperation, or to war and death? Socialism is struggling for the assertion of the main values common to all mankind: the right to life; the right to work and to self-fulfillment; the right to freedom and democracy; noninterference in the internal affairs of countries and equal security for all—in a word, the creation of such a world that guarantees each and everyone a dignified existence. It is toward this, and only toward this that the efforts of the socialist countries are directed. [applause]

We are now thinking and acting in a new way, for we are clearly aware of the mutual dependence of the modern world; we are aware that peace can be reliable and solid only as a result of the common efforts of all peoples and states. Millions of people are uniting in the struggle to save life on earth—various people, often with opposing views. These people are unanimous that mankind must survive. This reinforces our aspiration to work with even greater energy in the name of the creation of a reliable and secure world, to struggle for a peaceful and happy future for mankind. The revolutionary renewal of socialism, the resolution by common efforts of global and other topical problems of mankind, the creation of a world without wars and arms: These are the leading ideas of our time.

Today resounding with fresh alarming force are the words of our major proletarian poet Khristo Smirnenski, pronounced by him during the days of the birth of the land of the Soviets: Moscow! Moscow! How brightly you burn. Again you thunder, beat of a fiery heart! [applause]

Long live the worldwide, historic, reinvigorating cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution! [prolonged applause]

Kadar Addresses Meeting

LD031320 Budapest MTI in English 0950 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, November 3 (MTI)—The session held by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Supreme Soviets of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Soviet Socialist Republics to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution continued in the Kremlin Congress Palace in Moscow on Tuesday. Seated in the presidium, headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were Soviet party and state leaders and the heads and members of several foreign delegations, including Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. Janos Kadar, head of the Hungarian party and state delegation to the celebration series, was the first foreign delegate to speak at the session Tuesday morning.

"Our delegation are greatly honoured by the opportunity to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution here in Moscow, along with our Soviet friends and representatives of the world's progressive peace-loving forces. I express my thanks for the invitation and convey to you, Soviet Communists and the peoples of the Soviet Union, the greetings and best wishes of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian people building socialism," Janos Kadar said in introduction, and added, "we have listened attentively to the open and penetrating speech of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev on the historic road and experience of the Soviet Union and the tasks faced by the party and the country. We wholeheartedly congratulate you on your historic achievements and wish every success in your building-renewing work which serves the development of the Soviet Union, well-being of the Soviet people, and also have a great international signficance.

"Seventy years ago, under the guidance of Lenin's Bolshevik party, a people's power came into existence in continental-size Russia of many nationalities. The people, who emerged victorious from the revolution, embarked on a novel road towards eliminating backwardness, creating social justice and equal nationality rights, and building up the new socialist society. The Soviet power was born in struggle, and the people set to construction work on the ruins to attain great results. As a result of the economic, cultural and scientific achievements, the Soviet Union defended not only itself as the most sacrificing participant in the anti-fascist coalistion but also made a crucial contribution to the salvation of the entire humankind."

"Since the 1917 victory of the Soviet revolution socialism has no longer been merely an abstract idea, but a viable and renewable historic reality. The development of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries produces evidence that socialism has shown a new way to humankind by creating a society free from exploitation. The new processes launched in the socialist countries increase the prestige of our ideas and practice, the attraction of socialism and the effect of our foreign political initiatives. On the 70th anniversary of the Great October, taking responsible stock of our problems and great tasks to be accomplished, we can look to the future in good faith.

Recently the Soviet Union has moved again into the focus of international attention. The present generations of Soviet Communists are raising high the banner of the Great October when they set to the radical transformation of society with impressive resolve. Governed by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, they take advantage in their great venture of the vast domestic and international experience and rely on the inexhaustible resources of Soviet society under the spirit of socialist democracy and openness. The Hungarian Communists and the whole Hungarian society are following the renewal process in the Soviet Union with particular attention and deep sympathy.

"The Soviet foreign policy is also an offspring of October. In pursuit of the aim of universal peace and social progress, this country has become a force of crucial importance for international relations. We welcome and support the endeavours to consolidate peace and security and adopt a course of thinking and action that meets the demands of the nuclear age.

"Since the October Revolution the world has radically changed, but the long-standing dream of humankind and ideal of socialism, the weapon-free world, has not yet been realised. There is the growing recognition that in the age of nuclear arms war cannot be permitted and that there is no winner. The struggle of social systems has to be decided in peaceful rivalry. The only alternative for countries with different social systems is peaceful co-existence, cooperation based on reciprocal advantages, mutual respect of just interests and equal and sufficient security on the lowest possible level of armaments. Such an aim is the interest of all countries and peoples in the world."

"The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian people endeavour to increase the efficiency of socialist building work. In solving our present-day intricate tasks, we can rely on our achievements in economic and social development. We work to explore and utilize the possibilities and resources inherent in the socialist system in all fields of social life. We are aware of the difficulties and disclose our problems. We have set the aim to lay the foundations for the continued balanced development of our country by mobilizing our resources. Our main effort is to create an efficient economy by steadily following the path of reforms and our humanistic basic principles, and to forge the cohesion of society by the development of socialist democracy. We shall accomplish our difficult tasks.

"The turning points of our modern history are major milestones of the friendship of the Hungarian and the Soviet peoples. This friendship was founded in thir initial stage of Soviet power by the Hungarian internationalists, the fighters of the 1919 Hungarian Republic of Councils, and the blood sacrifice by the hungreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers who liberated our country in the Second World War. The relationship of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union is characterized by indissoluble bonds of friendship and decades-long many-sided cooperation serving the interests of the two peoples. For this reason, the efforts and results of the Soviet Union continue to provide a major support for the settlement of our domestic tasks. At the same time, we believe that the results of Hungarian socio-economic renewal, besides promoting a better future for our people, will contribute to a certain extent to the cause of socialism and universal human progress," Janos Kadar concluded, and wished further success for the peoples of the Soviet Union in building the socialist society on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

[Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1100 GMT on 3 November carries the recorded text of Janos Kadar's address at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

The radio version is identical to the above MTI version, but adds the following to the last sentence of the last paragraph: "...the cause of socialism and universal human progress. On the occasion of the anniversary of the Great October we wish the people of the Soviet Union further great successes in the building of socialist society."

"Long live the great USSR and its glorious Communist Party. Long live the unbreakable friendship between the Hungarian and Soviet peoples. Long live socialism and peace."]

Husak Address

LD021657 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] The joint festive meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution continues in Moscow today. This morning we listened together to the speech delivered by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The participants in the festive meeting were also addressed today by the head of the Czechoslovak party and government delegation, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR:

[Begin Husak recording] Esteemed comrades: Allow me to convey to you on behalf of the CPCZ, the Czechoslovak Government and all Czechoslovak people, warm greetings and congratulations on the glorious anniversary, which the whole world is marking along with you today. [applause] We pay homage to Great October and to the enormous and truly historic revolutionary work carried out by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party.

The greatness of historical events is measured by the depth of social changes they have caused, by the prospects they have opened before mankind along the road to social and national liberation. Time has proven that this applies to the highest degree to the Great October Socialist Revolution. It became a fundamental turning point in world history; it influenced to a decisive degree future development in human society and speeded up its progress. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his important speech today showed with profound truthfulness and persuasion what a complicated, difficult but at the same time stimulating and triumphant path of struggles and work the Land of the Soviets has traversed since the October Revolution. In the course of 70 years it has been transformed into a modern socialist power possessing a mighty economic, scientific and technological potential. This is the main outcome of the socialist revolution, which has released the enormous energy of the masses and stimulated people towards creative, constructive endeavor, unprecedented in history.

Along with this, we have also realized that even the greatest triumphs are marked by temporary setbacks, mistakes and errors. But, the CPSU has coped with them with revolutionary responsibility.

The anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a great festive day also for us in Czechoslovakia. Next year, the Czechoslovak people will mark the anniversaries of important historic events in their history which show the close relationship between Great October and its ideas and the struggles waged by our nations, the working class and all our people for national and social liberation, for building socialism and a solid international position for Czechoslovakia. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a mighty example which galvanized the years-long national liberation struggle waged by the Czechs and Slovaks and which contributed to the formation of the independent state in 1918.

We shall also mark the 50th anniversary of the tragic days of Munich. In the struggle against fascism and for the defense of the republic, it was the Soviet Union which was the only one to remain faithful to the obligations undertaken towards our state and which was the mainstay of the progressive forces of our nations. During the years of the national liberation struggles against the Nazi occupation, our people became convinced that their national and state interests are bound to the historic role of the Soviet Union, to the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people.

The successful conclusion of the years-long class struggles in February 1948 is tied very closely to the legacy and ideas of Great October. Thus, next year we shall mark the 40th anniversary of the working people's victory and the beginning of the construction of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Since that milestone, we have been travelling with our Soviet comrades along a common path, successfully developing cooperation and close alliance. Brotherhood and friendship with the Soviet people is sacred to us and we protect it as the most precious treasure. [applause]

Analysis of the results of socialist construction in our country confirms unequivocally the correctness of the road the Czechoslovak people embarked upon in the spirit of the revolutionary legacy of Great October. Our working people are justifiably proud of the great historic work the have accomplished, which is convincing testimony to the superiority of socialism and is our honorable contribution to the growing strength andauthority of socialism in the world.

The attention of the entire world, all progressive and peace forces turns today to the cradle of socialist revolution, to the great land of the Soviets. The dynamic process of the revolutionary restructuring of the Soviet society, new political thinking, and principled peace policy—this all shows that the Soviet Communists, Soviet people are loyally following the road mapped out by October and are creatively developing and fulfilling its legacy. New possibilities and perspectives are thus opening both for the further strengthening of socialism and for the growth of its attractivess and the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

The Czechoslovak Communists and all our working people fully support the course the CPSU is pursuing. They see in it the confirmation of the inexhaustible strength of socialism, its ability to find answers to the most urgent questions posed by the present-day revolutionary period. This was also confirmed by the warm reception accorded to Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during his visit to Czechoslovakia this year.

The course of action taken by the CPSU, which is an example of the creative development of Leninism in tackling key issues of socialist construction in present-day conditions, is of enormous significance not only for the Soviet Union but also for the entire socialist community, for peace and progresss in the world. The Leninist course being pursued by the CPSU is for us a reinforcement and inspiration in tackling our common tasks.

Long live the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution! [applause] Long live Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, long live socialism, progress and peace! [applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] You have heard the greetings address delived in Moscow today at the festive meeting dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution by Gustav Husak, the head of the party and government delegation, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR.

Koivisto Speech

LD030026 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Speech by Finnish President Mauno Koivisto to the 2 November Kremlin ceremony to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution; in Finnish fading to Russian translation—live]

[Text] Esteemed representatives of the party and state leadership of the Soviet Union; esteemed participants in this festive session!

I am happy to pass on to you sincere greetings from the Finnish Republic on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. All the Finnish people greet the leadership and people of our neighboring country, the Soviet Union, in connection with your remarkable national jubilee. [applause]

We value highly the results achieved by the Soviet people in persistent social construction, which has sometimes gone through difficulties and trials, and the will for peace which the Soviet Union demonstrates in its activities in the international arena. As an event in world history, the October Revolution has exerted far-reaching and multifaceted influence. It has done a good deal to shape the outlook of our century and has put its indelible stamp upon it.

The October Revolution gave birth to the socialist Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, to the lot of which has fallen the responsibility for implementing the aims of the revolution. In the 70 years which have passed, the CPSU and the Soviet people have achieved large-scale successes in all spheres of the life of society. The voice of the Soviet Union is listened to and appreciated throughout the world in the political arena. Leninist principles continue today to guide the Soviet Union's development. The changing and constantly developing world requires of each and everyone a regular reassessment of the situation and adaptation to new circumstances. Today's rapid development of science and technology poses fresh tasks and throws down challenges for all peoples. According to Lenin's conclusions, construction of socialism is a difficult and complex process, with many twists and stages of transition. The large-scale measures for restructuring of economic and social life presently being implemented in the Soviet Union are connected in the closest way with the ideas of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and by that token, comprise an inseparable element of the revolutionary process begun 70 years ago.

The principles proclaimed by Lenin and the movement he headed, which continue to be followed today, have a concrete and profound link both with Finland's historical destinies and with Finnish-Soviet relations today. Central among these principles was a nation's right to self-determination, which Lenin consistently defended. In its general form, this principle was registered in the program of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party approved as early as 1903. Lenin spoke about peoples living together in peace; he also firmly defended this principle in the difficult conditions of the first years of Soviet power. Subsequently, peaceful coexistence was asserted as one of the basic principles for modern international relations, exerting exceptionally importance influence on preservation of peace and on strengthening of international cooperation. The bold peace initiatives of the Soviet leadership are essential in promoting the possibility for us now to have a real opportunity to make an historic step along the path to a safer world, not darkened by the threat of nuclear catastrophe. I wish you the best of success in these large-scale international efforts for the sake of peace. [applause]

The principle of peaceful coexistance is a keystone in Finnish-Soviet relations. In the decades that have passed, we have built a system of relations based on mutual trust, in which the components are good, open dialogue, many-sided practical cooperation in various spheres, and broad contacts between public circles. Our relations have provided clear proof that, given sincere will and the desire on both sides, one can clear away the shadows of the past and, despite differences between social systems, direct these relations firmly and confidently into a channel of mutual trust and cooperation. Finland continues consistently to adhere to a foreign policy course elaborated by my predecessors, Presidents Paasikivi and Kekkonen. It is precisely the maintenance and development of a relationship of trust with the Soviet Union, on the basis of the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty of 1948, that makes up the basic content of this course. [applause]

The practice of our relations and their rich traditions also create the preconditions for successful progress of friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union in the future. We were able to reaffirm this together with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet leaders, during my recent official visit to the Soviet Union. [applause]

Esteemed participants in the festive session, let us congratulate our good neighbor, the Soviet Union, on occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. [applause]

We wish the peoples of the Soviet Union the very best of success in their efforts to accelerate and enhance the efficiency of the country's development and in promoting the cause of peace and international security! I express these wishes in the conviction that the Soviet Union, born of the October Revolution, will continue to be in the vanguard of social progress and activities for the benefit of guaranteeing peace as the basic prerequisite for such progress. [applause]

Ortega Speech

LD031451 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1227 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Speech by Daniel Ortega, president of the Republic of Nicaragua, at festive meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses; in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, esteemed comrades: I have brought fraternal combative greetings from the people of Sandino to the people of Lenin. [applause] Seventy years ago, Nicaragua was occupied by U.S. troops. This has been the fate of a number of other countries of Latin America and the Caribbean basin. Thus did imperialism try to hinder the struggle for self-determination, independence, sovereignty, and peace that the restless peoples of America, who were full of determination to win their freedom, were waging.

Seventy years ago, under the leadership of Lenin and the wonderful party that he created, which became the vanguard of the proletariat, the working people of Russia turned the ideals that had been at the root of the splendeid feat of the Paris Commune into reality. The light of liberation illuminated once and for all the country of the Soviets, the country of workers, soldiers, and peasants. The victory of October was the materialization of the teachings of Marx and Engels, their embodiment. Thanks to the creative spirit, and the boldness and firmness of Lenin's genius, the triumph of October marked a new era in the history of mankind that proved that, yes, power could belong to the workers; it could belong to the peasants; it could belong to the working people. The heroic resistance of the Soviet people against counterrevolutionary intervention and fascism inspired the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean basin to struggle. Fresh revolutionary victories became possible—victories that relied on the firm will of the peoples to smash the chains of exploitation, and on the generous and resolute fighting solidarity of the Soviet Union.

Comrades! If today, 70 years after the October Revolution, peace is threatened by the aggressive policy of imperialism and the danger of destruction hangs over the whole of mankind, then this is the result of the hegemonistic course of the ruling circles of the United States, which are packing the sea, the land, and the sky with more and more nuclear weapons. In the face of this terrible threat, the world demands creation of a comprehensive system of international security, as was suggested at the 27th CPSU Congress. The world demands new international ethics, something that was reflected in the Delhi Declaration signed by Comrade Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi, that outstanding leader of the Nonaligned Movement. In this connection, Nicaragua fully supports Comrade Gorbachev's call for elimination of nuclear weapons and for genuine democratization of interstate relations.

We must respect the UN Charter and strengthen all structures of this organization, including the International Court. We also support the UN secretary general's proposal for establishing a center to promote a reduction in the danger of nuclear war. We welcome the steps being taken by the Soviet Union aimed at disarmament and the proposals made at the meeting in Reykjavik. Mankind now expects that the forthcoming, new summit meeting on 7 December will lead to the achievement of agreements promoting detente and fostering more effective efforts in the name of peace.

Comrades: Today, 70 years after Great October, there continues to live the creative power of the teachings of Lenin, who in 1917 wrote: to work, everyone to work, Comrades! The cause of the revolution must be victorious, and it will! [applause] It is now being proclaimed with the same energy: Restructuring is an imperative that is long due. It will give fresh vital strength to the first state of workers and peasants, born in October 1917, to the energy of the masses, where socialism itself is the living creation of the masses.

Respected Comrade Gorbachev, respected Comrades, the Nicaraguan people, which 8 years ago liberated itself from oppression, from capitalist imperialist exploitation, is proud of its fraternal relations with the USSR and will never renounce them in spite of pressure, aggression, and blackmail. In April 1955, I visited the Soviet Union and met Comrade Gorbachev, and this led to U.S. congressmen giving hundreds of millions of dollars in order to sow death in our country. The U.S. Government is currently demanding from Congress $270 million, and they will try to use our presence at this grand event in order to provide these $270 million. But in spite of this danger, in spite of the fact that a decision will be made on these millions of dollars, in spite of pressure, in spite of aggression, in spite of blackmail, we shall not renounce our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union. [applause]

Eight years ago we took the road of freedom and democracy for the people, having chosen a system based on the principles of a mixed economy, political pluralism, and nonalignment. However, for a period of 6 years and 10 months, the ruling circles of the United States have been persistently waging an interventionist war with the aim of destroying the Sandinista people's revolution. As a result of U.S. aggression, more than 45,700 Nicaraguans have died, and this in a country with a population of just over 3 million. Material damage to the country's trade and economic infrastructure, whose annual exports amount to only $300 million, has reached $3 billion. If the United States fell victim to such aggression, then over these 6 years and 10 months, proportionate to its population, it would lose about 3,134,700 people, as a result of terrorist acts like those committed by the U.S. Government against Nicaragua.

Political & Social

Domestic Media Coverage of Yeltsin Report

WA031540 [Editorial Report] Monitored Soviet domestic media have not been observed to report that Boris Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, offered to resign as was reported in the 2 November Soviet Union *Daily Report* on page 50, in a report headlined "Yeltsin Resignation Offer Reported," under the subheadline "Politburo to 'Examine.'"

More on USSR Supreme Soviet Session

Railroads Need 'Urgent Assistance'

PM021425 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Abbreviated version of speech by Deputy N.S. Konarev of Gurdzhaanskiy Electoral Okrug, Georgian SSR, delivered at 19 October evening session of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union]

[Text] Comrade Deputies!

Knowing their sector's role in the restructuring process, railroad transport workers are seeking to make a positive contribution to this important cause.

Despite the fact that little over 2 months remain until the end of the 2d year of the 5-year plan and the losses that occurred in the first quarter of 1987 were very tangible, it is possible to report that on completing the first 2 years of the 5-year plan railroad transport will have shipped 50 million tonnes of above-plan national economic freight, overfulfilled the targets for freight and passenger turnover, made R600 million in above-plan profit, increased labor productivity 14%, and reduced the prime cost of output 2.5%. Thanks to creative use of the sector's reserve the working people's wages will increase by R22 overall and by as much as R40 on individual railroads. The transport workers' average wage will stand at more than R240 a month.

A further increase in the operating efficiency of transport is planned for 1988. The basis for this is the strenuous, carefully elaborated State Plan for 1988 with all its complexities and speial features. We support the basic indicators of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for next year and will do everything to ensure its fulfillment without fail in all points relating to the work of railroad transport.

At the same time we are not entirely satisfied with certain studies and, above all, with the insufficient volume of planned deliveries of rolling stock, machinery, and materials. There is no appreciable movement in the plan toward resolving the problems which have accumulated in the sector. Insufficient funds are being allocated to increasing the railroads' traffic and carrying capacity, strengthening their internal base, and constructing housing. The USSR Gosplan appears not to notice these problems, is unjustifiably slow over adopting the necessary decisions, and makes concessions to the supplying ministries. The Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building, the Ministry of the Defense Industry, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and certain other ministries must not be allowed to continue reducing deliveries of electric locomotives, diesel locomotives, and railcars.

We note with alarm that a certain stagnation is to be observed in transport machine building, the positions achieved earlier are being lost, and there is no forward movement, and for some reason this is of concern to few people. This is also confirmed by the studies of the plan for this sector for 1988. Nor are the problems associated with ensuring passenger traffic being resolved, while deliveries of passenger cars are being planned at an even lower level than provided for in the 5-year plan.

We fully accept the criticisms of the Ministry of Railways made by the Transport and Communications Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers and in the reports at the session. We are in a bad way as regards ensuring traffic safety and service to passengers. At the same time attention must be drawn to the report which Academician N.V. Cherskiy made at the plenary session of the the Budget and Planning Commissions to the effect that USSR railroad transport is operating under the greatest strain known in world practice and needs urgent assistance.

In connection with the upcoming transfer of railroad transport to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing we have implemented measures whose realization will make it possible to successfully implement this major economic transformation. A master scheme for the sector's management has been drawn up, and it will be more economical, flexible, and effective than the current one. To be specific, in 1988 we are reckoning on exceeding the basic indicators envisaged in the 5-year plan, including by 7.6% for labor productivity, by R250-300 million for above-plan profit, by 2.7% for passenger traffic, and by 25.5% for consumer goods production. The state order for freight shipments and also for commissioning social and consumer projects will be fulfilled in full.

Allow me to assure the USSR Supreme Soviet that railroad transport workers will cope with the tasks set them. (Applause)

Tractor Industry Problems Noted

PM021527 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Abbreviated version of speech by Deputy I.P. Prokopyev of Kanashskiy Electoral Okrug, Chuvash ASSR, (first secretary of Chuvash CPSU Obkom) delivered at 20 October morning session of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! The deputies representing the Chuvash ASSR support the proposal to approve with amendments and supplements the USSR plan and budget for the 3d year of the 5-year plan. The Communists and all working people of the republic see it as their duty to increase their contribution to resolving the tasks of the whole people on the basis of the more efficient utilization of the production, scientific, and technical potential that has been created.

However, changes in the economy and in the social sphere and restructuring of the activities of party, soviet, and economic organs are still proceeding only slowly.

The most important of the many problems that we have to resolve is the accelerated development of machine building, which accounts for approximately 40% of the total volume of the republic's industrial production. In accordance with the well known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions party and soviet organs are directing the efforts of collectives of machine-building enterprises and scientific research and planning and design organizations toward expanding, modernizing, and retooling production and creating and assimilating new products.

But all these measures have not yet had the proper effect. During the 1st 9 months of this year machine-building enterprises failed to supply customers with output worth R72 million.

A particularly alarming situation has taken shape at the "Cheboksarskiy Zavod Promyshlennykh Traktorov" Association. There it is planned to create within reduced times designs of industrial tractors whose quality and reliability are in line with the best world models. These tasks are being resolved sluggishly, and the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building has violated the schedule for drawing up a plan for the construction of a motor and tractor production facility. The T-500 tractor's acceptance tests were completed only in February this year instead of the 1st quarter of 1986. Questions relating to the manufacture and delivery of complex billets for engines and the organization of production of caterpillar tracks have not been resolved. It is envisaged that the association will be supplied with hot-stamped billets from the Kamyshin Forging and Casting Plant, which is thousands of kilometers away, yet in Cheboksary there is a unit plant of the same ministry which manufactures more than 80,000 tonnes of forgings and sends almost that entire volume to other regions.

Last week there was a discussion directly at the plant, with the participation of USSR Ministers Comrades A.A. Yezhevskiy and V.I. Reshetilov, as to what measures for accelerating the pace of experimental design work, commissioning capacities, and preparing for production must be taken to fulfill the tractor production plan.

The problem associated with the normal supply to the association of tractor-mounted equipment manufactured and supplied by the Balakovo Self-Propelled Excavator Plant of the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building has long awaited solution. Because the agreed schedule for delivery of tractor-mounted equipment has been violated, the association is today unable to dispatch more than 140 finished tractors to customers.

A number of other machine-building ministries are failing to resolve questions of the manufacture and delivery of new materials and subassemblies necessary for the production of tractors and engines. Therefore we ask the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology to examine this question and determine measures to fulfill the targets envisaged by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

At the recent CPSU Central Committee conference M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, devoted special attention to developing the initiative and independence of local organs in resolving urgent social tasks. Definite steps are being taken in this direction in the republic.

At the same time the housing problem is still acute in the republic, including in the countryside. Unfortunately, many who wish to build a private dwelling at their own expense are not able to because of a shortage of cement, timber, and other construction materials. When drawing up plans for the country's socioeconomic development, the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab must, in our view, take into account the specific nature and potential of the regions and allocate funds for construction materials for private builders in accordance with the volumes of housing construction. At the same time it must be emphasized that local soviets are still not making full use of the rights afforded them or meeting the need for local construction materials. Central television recently leveled just criticism at us for that. We are now taking measures to increase the capacities of enterprises in the construction materials industry. All this will be implemented in an enterprising manner with the participation of industrial enterprises.

Comrade Deputies! The USSR Supreme Soviet session is setting the country strenuous but realistic tasks. By making active use of the restructuring process Chuvash ASSR party and soviet organs will enhance in every way possible the responsibility of leaders for the assigned task and create in labor collectives an atmosphere of nationwide struggle to successfully fulfill the socioeconomic development plan and worthily greet the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. (Applause)

Latvian Deputy Pugo's Address

PM021503 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Abbreviated version of speech by Deputy B.K. Pugo of Preylskiy Electoral Okrug, Latvian SSR, (first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee) delivered at 19 October afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies!

It goes without saying that the point of departure for the fulfillment of next year's plan is provided by the results which we achieve this year. It is no secret that this year's beginning was difficult. In Latvia, for instance, we did not eliminate the shortfall in industrial output and attain the planned growth rates until the 3d quarter. Today we can boldly assert that the annual plan will be fulfilled.

Does this mean that we could not have done better? No, it does not. Existing opportunities and the accumulated potential are still not being fully utilized in the republic. Old approaches, ingrained habits of formalism, dependence, and indiscipline, and a tendency to wait for instructions from above in all matters and frequently to rely on "luck" are holding us back.

Naturally, the draft plan and budget are geared to implementing a strong social policy and envisage higher targets than the 5-year plan. Their feasibility is backed up by both centralized measures and local potential, which exists everywhere.

In our republic the increase in commissioned housing since the beginning of the 5-year plan totals 12%. However, if all the existing shortcomings were eliminated, we could make even more headway.

The republic party and soviet organs are doing everything in their power in order to ensure this and are placing these matters on a logical economic footing. Their efforts are reflected in the "Housing-90" targeted comprehensive program, which is called upon to help us build 20% more apartments by the end of the 5-year plan than was envisaged by the plan and thus to halve the waiting list for housing.

Drawing a realistic picture of the development of social and housing construction, I must note that the volume of this construction still reflects the "leftover principle," which has been condemned more than once. No matter how strange this may seem, it remains a fact that, with the Gosplan's assistance, production targets account for two-thirds of the program of the republic Ministry of Construction.

Many deputies are undoubtedly aware what broad opportunities for enhancing the efficiency of economic management are provided by agro-industrial integration. However, in my view, the 1988 plan does not fully reflect this problem.

The time has obviously come for V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences scientists to get involved in this work, to analyze the experience of agro-industrial integration, and to submit constructive proposals on how to further improve it.

Much assistance from them is also needed in working out the principles of self-financing. There are still many gray areas in this sphere and the conditions necessary for the introduction of economic accountability [khozraschet] are not always ensured. It was with great satisfaction and hope that we received the news that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently approved measures to switch enterprises and organizations of the Estonian State Agro-Industrial Committee to full economic accountability and self-financing. Similar measures have been elaborated in our republic too and we are ready to put them into force, provided that we receive appropriate backing, of course.

Comrade Deputies! Over the years of Soviet power the equality of peoples and their fraternal cooperation have been really established in our country. The economy and culture of all the republics has risen. A unified Soviet people has grown up that takes pride in its shared achievements and is ready to defend the socialist gains against any enroachments. This gives no rest to the ringleaders of bourgeois propaganda and its numerous subversive centers. Their aspirations are now increasingly focusing on the Baltic republics.

A particularly massive onslaught by imperialist reaction is aimed at undermining our peoples' international unity and fraternal friendship. And although these efforts are certainly futile and hopeless, they nonetheless exert a negative influence on a certain section of the population which is hoping to make political capital out of overtly flirting with Western reactionary circles.

It was these bearers of ideas and views alien and even overtly hostile toward socialism who were the instigators of the openly nationalist and anti-Soviet manifestations in Riga and the capitals of the other Baltic republics in August.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, party gorkoms and raykoms, all soviet ispolkoms, and labor collectives have learned a lesson from happened and have drawn the right conclusions from it. There can be no doubt that all nationalist intrigues will be cut short or that Soviet Latvia and the other Baltic republics have always been, are, and will remain genuinely internationalist republics.

We wish that the people in the West who are conducting frenzied nationalist propaganda against the Baltic republics at various levels, including the state level, would once and for all grasp the simple and very understandable idea: The Soviet peoples' friendship, forged in the uncompromising ideological clashes against bourgeois nationalism, in the bloody armed struggle against the forces of the counterrevolution and reaction, and in daily practical work, is our tremendous asset and we will never part with it. (Applause).

Ekibastuz Worker Speaks

PM021645 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Abbreviated version of speech by Deputy A.-R.A. Sharipov of Ekibastuzskiy Electoral Okrug, Kazakh SSR, ("Ekibastuzugol" Production Association excavator operator) delivered at 19 October afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] When the third stage of the"Vostochnyy" open-cut mine is commissioned, the association's coal extraction capacity will total 93 million tonnes, yet the plan for 1988 sets a target of only 90 million tonnes, which is below the available capacity. For us workers, this kind of planning is incomprehensible. On the one hand, we are supposed to improve our indicators, and on the other hand initiative is being constrained from "above." I ask the USSR Gosplan and the leadership of the Ministry of the Coal Industry and the Ministry of Power and Electrification to provide a concrete answer to this question.

Comrade Deputies! I participate in the work of the Standing Commission for Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources.

It is well known what great importance is attached to the question of environmental protection in our country. However, in our industrial region the problem of the environment is still causing serious concern.

The spoil heaps of existing open-cut mines contain around 3 billion tonnes of rock, which in turn contains valuable components that are not being utilized. The spoil heaps produce smoke, and the spontaneous combustion of coal at open-cut mines is complicating the sanitary situation in the city.

However, this is only one aspect of the problem. More than 15 million tonnes of coal are burned each year in the boilers of the Ekibastuz GRES-1. The steppe for many kilometers around the station is covered with gray dust. The concentration of noxious substances exceeds the sanitary norms severalfold. Emissions of these substances into the atmosphere have increased severalfold in recent years. What are we to expect when three more power stations of the same capacity as the GRES-1 are commissioned?

In our city, which has a population of 150,000, there is a considerable shortage of drinking water. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the creation and development of the Ekibastuz fuel and energy complex instructed the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification to build water supply installations for the city with a capacity of 75,000 cubic meters of purified drinking water per day by 1985. However, so far only 25% of the planned volume of work has been carried out.

There is something else I would like to say. I, as USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, have been instructed by voters to promote the construction of an automatic telephone exchange and a young pioneer center in Ekibastuz city. The telephone exchange was to be commissioned in 1986 according to the plan; however, it is feared that the city's inhabitants will not get the new exchange even this year. As for the construction of the Young Pioneer Center, which is badly needed in the industrial city, it has not even begun yet.

I hope that Anatoliy Ivanovich Mayorets, USSR minister of power and electrification, and Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov, minister of the coal industry, will take action on these questions.

Comrade Deputies! The state plan for economic and social development and the country's budget for 1988 accord fully with the Soviet people's vital interests. I propose that they be approved taking account of the additions and amendments introduced by deputies. (Applause)

Writer Raises Ecological Issues

PM021707 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Abbreviated version of speech by Deputy A.M. Maldonis of Kapsukskiy Electoral Okrug, Lithuanian SSR, (chairman of Lithuanian Writers Union Board) delivered at 19 October afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! A characteristic feature of the draft state plan for the coming year is that it proceeds from real potential and is coordinated with the provisions of the radical restructuring of economic management.

The planned development of the socioeconomic sphere is based above all on the results achieved. For the first time this year the entire increase in industrial production in the republic was accounted for by higher labor productivity. However, it must be admitted that restructuring is not proceeding sufficiently effectively in Lithuania. Coordination, discipline, and organization have not yet been firmly established everywhere, obsolete administration and management principles are not being radically discarded, and young, enterprising cadres are not being promoted boldly enough.

A powerful chemical industry has been created in Lithuania. We occupy second place in the country in terms of per capita mineral fertilizer production. However, let us take a look at the other side of the coin. Several major chemical plants are concentrated on the republic's small territory. In Ionavskiy, Mazheykskiy, and Kedaynskiy Rayons air pollution greatly exceeds all permissible standards. Contrary to common sense, union ministries and the USSR Gosplan intend, in accordance with long-term plans for the development of the chemical complex, to commission more installations for the production of ammonia, other substances, and lubricants on the territory of the republic. What does this hold in store for us and our children in the near future? An optimistic smile under a gas mask?

In view of the absence of new technological solutions and proper purification of noxious emissions, we should think hard about whether a further concentration of chemical and petrochemical industry on Lithuania's small and densely populated territory where intensive crop farming and livestock raising is conducted is expedient.

I will cite a few facts to back up my statement. Today the Lithuanian GRES alone emits more than 170,000 tonnes of noxious substances into the atmosphere annually. Around the Ionavskiy "Azot" Production Association alone 800 hectares of woods have perished. Such wastelands are developing around other plants too. Some 25,000 hectares of woods are suffering from the direct effects of chemical pollution.

Ecological problems also arise because of the insufficiently comprehensive intensification of agricultural production. The republic sanitary and epidemiological service registered a higher than normal residue of nitrates in 25% of checked potatoes and vegetables in 1983-1986. Selective checks have revealed that pollution with nitrates exceeds the permissible standards in a considerable number of wells.

The environmental protection situation in the republic is causing most serious concern. And that is despite the fact that a clear course of improving this situation has been mapped out. Thanks to the efforts of scientific and design organizations, a Comprehensive Scheme for Environmental Protection in the Lithuanian SSR Through the year 2000 has been drawn up. This means that we now have a long-term strategy for the development of environmental protection. However, we must not forget that prior to the introduction of the aforementioned scheme, the damage caused to the national economy as a result of pollution and other undesirable influences on the environment was rising with every year. It is perfectly obvious that it is necessary to radically restructure the work of environmental monitoring organs and the sanitary and epidemiological service. What is needed is prevention, well thought-out from top to bottom, of situations that are dangerous to health and monitoring of ecological conditions. This would make it possible to introduce state ecological expert examinations of complex technical projects and projects likely to have a major impact on the environment. The absence of reliable ecological expert examinations means that we are having to discontinue the implementation of expensive but ecologically unsound projects.

It goes without saying that this system must be provided with the appropriate constitutional rights and obligations. Without such guarantees it will not be able to rise to the level of present-day tasks.

In our view it is necessary to extend the republic's comprehensive scheme for environmental protection to regional level. A comprehensive scheme for environmental protection of the Baltic region and other regions of the country could form part of the long-term ecological program of the country which it is planned to draw up in accordance with a recent decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

I hope that what I have said will not be seen as the creative intelligentsia's traditional gesture to questions of ecology. The future, yours and mine and that of our children, and all our plans are determined by two factors today—the preservation of world peace and the preservation of the planet and man's life on it. The new thinking in international relations which is on everyone's lips today needs to be accompanied by new thinking in all spheres of practical activity. The technocratic approach must be resolutely replaced by a humanitarian definition of the meaning of human life in everything that we build or destroy.

Despite the complex current period of transition, our Soviet literature is serving the interests of the renewal of society honestly and fruitfully. At this critical stage of restructuring, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev described it, the role of the press, radio, and television is especially important. We get totally absorbed reading central newspapers and journals. Unfortunately, we cannot say the same about the Lithuanian press, including the literary press. While a departure from routine phrases is noticeable, no break with superficial reporting or current calendar topics has been observed. When discussing acute problems of social or cultural building and interpreting complex phenomena, both past and present, a certain timidity and inertia and furtive glances to the top and to left and right have still not been overcome. (Applause)

Aganbegyan Interviewed on Restructuring

LD310020 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2145 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Interview with USSR scholar Abel Aganbegyan by Jerzy Wajszczuk, by Marek Szelewicki; date and place not specified; Wajszczuk asks questions and Aganbegyan responds in Russian with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] [Szelewicki] The October revolution anniversary gives us an opportunity to sum up the achievements of the 70-year period and also to assess 2 and 1/2 years of reconstruction being implemented in the Soviet Union by Mikhail Gorbachev's team. Everybody talks about restructuring [preceding word in Russian].

[Wajszczuk] Professor Abel Aganbegyan belongs to a group of prominent Soviet scholars and economists who are involved in the restructuring [preceding word in Russian] process. Tell me, please, what effects of reconstruction already can be talked about?

[Aganbegyan] The effects can be divided in two areas. The first is, as I would put it, the greater socialization [uspolecznienie] of our development and positive changes in matters related to the people's living standard. For the first time in the last 20 years we have overcome stagnation in housing construction. Last year we also increased agricultural production by more than 5 percent, and we anticipate similar growth in the current year. The present changes, however positive, are not deep, and this is due to the fact that the reconstruction does not yet have a solid and durable foundation. Here I am thinking of new methods of management, which we are introducing now, and about new technological solutions.

[Wajszczuk] I would also ask you about the process of the so-called impediment. How do you understand this notion?

[Aganbegyan] The essence of the impediment is an absolute administrative system of management, which serves neither social progress nor the scientific and technological revolution. The shaping of the new economic situation can be promoted by the extensive employment of economic methods of management and democratization of all of our economic life. In order to move from the mechanism of impediment to a mechanism of acceleration one has first to transform the methods of economic management. Of course, the so-called impediment also has its social and psychological conditioning. Hampering is an old way of thinking and creates forces of inertia and obsolete working methods. These should also be changed during the reconstruction. This is of utmost importance.

Solovyev at Leningrad Youth Rally 29 Oct

LD301008 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Excerpt] Participants in the all-union rally of Komsomol members and young people gathered here today in the historical Palace Square in Leningrad. The youth forum devoted to the coming October anniversary opened here with a ceremony.

Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, and Comrade Mironenko, first secretary of the Komosomol, participated in it. [passage omitted]

Leaders Visit Machine Building Exhibit

PM021359 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Machine Builders Report"]

[Text] On the eve of the nationwide holiday a showing entitled "Machine building—marking the 70th anniversary of Great October" opened at the country's main exhibition center. The machine builders are reporting to the party and country on the dimensions and pace of the restructuring initiated in this determining sphere of social production in accordance with the decisions of the 27th party congress.

The "Machine building—marking the 70th anniversary of Great October" exhibition was visited by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building; USSR ministers, responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, and industrial specialists.

Biryukova Tour of Kirgiz SSR Reported

PM031109 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Acting in the People's Interests"]

[Text] A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in the Kirghiz SSR 22-27 October. In the city of Osh she visited the Cotton Association Named for the 50th Anniversary of October, the Silk Combine Named for the Komsomol, and a sewn goods factory, and in the city of Frunze the Tool Building Plant Named for the 50th Anniversary of the Kirghiz SSR and the Garment Plant Named for the Komsomol. The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited a number of trade, consumer, and other service facilities and addressed an enlarged session of the republic's Ministry of Light Industry collegium. Meetings and conversations took place at labor collectives.

During her stay main attention was paid to questions concerned with meeting the population's needs for high-quality goods and varied services and ensuring a balance between income and availability of goods. It was stressed that total responsibility for solving this very important task of social policy rests with the republic, local party, soviet, and economic organs. They now possess the legal, financial, and organizational levers for this, but they are not being fully utilized in the Kirghiz SSR. Parasitic attitudes and passive waiting for instructions and help from the center while one's own potential is not being used must be abandoned. There must be an active search for internal reserves to supply the market with goods and services and bring them promptly into action.

Increasing the effectiveness with which existing production potential is used is a major reserve for increasing goods production. Many of the republic's light industry enterprises and Group "A" sector enterprises producing consumer goods have a low shift coefficient, their equipment does not work to full capacity, and they fail to meet their targets in terms of prime costs and raw materials savings.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary paid special attention to the work of labor collectives under conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. Stress was placed on the need for all cadres—from ministry and enterprise leaders to ordinary workers—to understand more deeply the new economic mechanism and the law on state enterprises and to apply them in practice to maximum effect. Here lies the key to greater satisfaction of the population's needs regarding the range and quality of goods and successful economic and social development of labor collectives.

USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Biryukova met with voters in Frunze's Oktyabrskiy Electoral Okrug.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary spoke at a meeting with republic party and state leaders.

A.P. Biryukov was accompanied on her trip by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, and A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of the republic council of ministers.

On 24 October A.P. Biryukova visited the Kayrakkum Carpet Production Association and the Leninabad Silk Combine in the Tajik SSR.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary was accompanied by K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee.

Uzbekistan's Nishanov on Kazakhstan

LD301834 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—At present no trace has been left in Kazakhstan of the nationalist action in Alma-Ata in December last year, said Rafik Nishanov, president of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan. He was addressing a meeting today with journalists devoted to the international policy of the CPSU at the press center for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

"The events in Alma-Ata cannot be described as national unrest", Rafik Nishanov stressed. "I personally would refrain from such generalizations, since the action by a relatively small group of people was not supported by the mass of the working people of Kazakhstan. It subsided as speedily as it broke out."

Rafik Nishanov named among the causes behind the December events in Alma-Ata stagnant phenomena in the economy, politics and the social field, which appeared in the 70s. Among the causes of the outburst of nationalism in Kazakhstan was also the fact that for a long time the question of the national relations in the USSR was presented in a declarative form. There was more talk about achievements, while the shortcomings were passed over in silence.

The people of Kazakhstan, Rafik Nishanov continued, live in a close-knit friendly family. The republic has not a single work collective that does not include people of various nationalities. "Work is done on a vast scale now to take into consideration even the minutest details in the issue of national relations of the peoples of the USSR. Our main aim is to ensure the development of a process consisting of two indissolubly united parts: the flowering and drawing closer of the peoples and nationalities of the Soviet Union."

Answering the correspondents' questions about the influence of Muslim religion on national relations in central Asia, Rafik Nishanov said: "The statements on the revival of the national question in the central Asian republics of the USSR under the banner of Islam, that the special role of Muslim religion in the world today will contribute towards severing that region from the Soviet Union hold no water."

Ukrainian Council of Ministers Session Meets

AU021731 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 27 Oct 87 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A session of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers was held on 26 October to examine the measures taken to ensure that the 1987 state plan for the republic's economic and social development is fulfilled, and to prepare the national economy for steady work in 1988.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers emphasized that, in light of the directives of the October 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum and of the decisions adopted by the Eighth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation, it was essential to organize clear and smooth operations in all sectors of production in order to meet the targets set for the current year and to create conditions necessary for the dynamic development of the national economy in 1988.

It was noted that, as a result of organizational work intensified in line with the requirements of the January and the June 1987 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as those of the March and the July 1987 plenums of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and as a result of socialist competitions widely developed in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October, further growth in communal production has been ensured, and the people's prosperity has increased.

In the 9 months of the current year, the rates of increasing industrial production amounted to 4.6%, against the 3.6% planned for the year. The value of marketable products supplied in excess of the plan amounted to R91 million. The entire increase in industrial production was achieved by raising labor productivity. Some positive results were attained in the agro-industrial complex. Compared with the corresponding period of 1986, purchases of animals and poultry went up. The scope of housing and sociocultural construction rose. Housing space built from state capital investments amounted to 7.1 million square meters, or 4% more than in the corresponding period of 1986. A number of measures were taken to increase wages. Resources for communal consumption increased.

At the same time, the session noted that economic development still had not been stabilized in an appropriate way. A number of the republic's ministries, departments, and oblispolkoms have failed to make satisfactory use of the possibilities inherent in the new economic mechanism to hasten the development of branches and oblasts, have not taken the necessary steps to restructure the style and methods of work, and to overcome the some leaders' adherence to obsolete methods of leadership. Slow progress has been made in accomplishing the tasks set to technically reequip production and to increase the work load of equipment to a maximum. In implementing the production program, the situation is still strained at enterprises of ferrous metallurgy, machine building, and the chemical and light industries.

Work done to ensure that obligations contracted for the supply of goods are discharged has deteriorated. In 9 months supplies fell short of the target to the value of R2 billion. The proportion of enterprises which failed to cope with their contracted obligations amounted to 26.7% of the total; in the machine building and coal industries, in ferrous metallurgy, and under the Ukrainian Ministry of Local Industry, it exceeded 50%; and under the Ministry of the Light Industry, it exceeded 33%.

Much attention was paid to problems connected with fulfilling the plan for the development of the sociocultural sphere. The Ukrainian Ministries of the Light Industry, of Local Industry, and of the Forestry Industry were subjected to criticism. The proportion of enterprises which fell short of the plan for the production of consumer goods amounted to one-fifth, and that of machine building enterprises, in particular, to one-third.

No positive changes have taken place in construction. The annual plan for putting into operation fixed assets from state capital investments has been fulfilled 43%. The targets set for commissioning children's preschool establishments, polyclinics, vocational and technical schools, clubs, and houses of culture have not been met.

It was pointed out that the measures taken by the republic's Ministry of Trade, Union of Consumers' Societies, and oblispolkoms to fulfill the plan for retail commodity turnover had been inefficient and ineffective. There have also been serious shortcomings in fulfilling the plan for and in rendering payable services.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers has requested the republic's ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, and Kiev and Sevastopol Gorispolkoms to take exhaustive measures to meet the targets set for the fourth quarter and for 1987 as a whole.

The particular attention of ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, and gorispolkoms was called to the need to take immediate steps to fully complete the preparation of housing, municipal, and power supply services, as well as transport organizations for the winter season, and to evade the miscalculations that ocurred last year.

Ukrainian ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, and gorispolkoms have been confronted with the task to put fixed assets into operation more rapidly, to concentrate efforts and resources on the most important projects built for production purposes, and at the same time to ensure that the program for housing construction is implemented fully and on schedule, and that the material base of the sociocultural sphere strengthens. An instruction has been given to concentrate attention on the need to make better use of all kinds of resources, and to strictly observe the policy of saving.

Emphasis was put on the need to give priority treatment to social problems, and to make active use of all possibilities to increase the production of consumer goods and services.

The Ukraine's government has requested ministries and departments to complete, as soon as possible, the work to enable enterprises and associations to conclude economic agreements for the forthcoming year, to strengthen and expand ties between consumers and producers of goods, and thus to provide a basis for the stable performance of the national economy from the beginning of the coming year.

In proceeding from the appraisals made and the conclusions drawn by the conference held in the CPSU Central Committee headquarters on ways to hasten the development of processing branches within the agro-industrial complex, the Ukrainian Council of Ministers called the attention of the republic's ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, and gorispolkoms to the need to take unremitting control of the accomplishment of the tasks set in this field, as a task of nationwide political importance.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers has obliged executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies to take measures and to comply absolutely with the decisions adopted to widely promote the cooperative and individual forms of organizing the production of consumer goods and services.

Participating in the session were V. A. Sologub, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Trade Unions Council chairman; and S. I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary.

The session was addressed by V. A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman.

Former Dissident Denounces Psychiatry Abuse

AU302101 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 30 Oct 87 p 2

[Maren Koester report: "Glasnost Ends at the Prison Wall; Dissident Denounces Abuse of Psychiatry]

[Excerpts] Vienna—The human rights situation in the Soviet Union and the abuse of psychiatry for forced treatment of unpopular political and religious figures were the focal points of a press conference given on Thursday [29 October] in Vienna by Soviet dissident Vladimir Titov, who left the Soviet Union for the West a few days ago. The persecution of opposition figures is being continued with unabated harshness under party chief Mikhail Gorbachev, but the methods have changed, Titov stressed. "Imprisonment in camps has increasingly been replaced by commitment to psychiatric clinics." According to Titov, 180 politically persecuted people are currently interned in psychiatric prisons. Since July, 14 people have been committed to such institutions. The approximately 150 political prisoners who were released during the first half of the year came "almost" exclusively from detention camps, as people from dissident circles note.

Titov, who comes from Siberia, spent a total of 18 years in prisons and psychiatric prisons. According to Yuriy Belov, spokesman of the "International Human Rights Society," Titov, who was released from a psychiatric institution in Kaluga only at the beginning of this month, is still suffering from effects of treatment with neuroleptics.

Titov said in Vienna that he was subjected to massive pressure from the Soviet authorities to leave the country by the end of October. "I was threatened with being sent to a psychiatric institution again." Titov's case is not exceptional. The behavior of Soviet television and the government paper *Izvestiya* toward Yosif Begun, the well-known spokesman of the Jewish emigration movement, is attracting no less attention in the West. Begun is accused of being an agent of Mossad, the Israeli secret service. The media say that the civil rights activist, who was released from political detention at the beginning of the year, is delaying his emigration because he is better able to serve the West from Moscow. [passage omitted]

In Titov's opinion, there is no question of a domestic liberalization in the Soviet Union. Thus, the apparatus of the Committee of State Security, KGB, is being constantly expanded. Titov assessed this as a reaction to the reform policy, which has caused innumerable clubs to crop up that have made it their task to watch over glasnost and perestroyka. According to Titov's estimate, up to 31% of the rural population is working for the KGB. Titov himself was a KGB officer from 1956-61.

Psychiatric Treatment Examined

PM301857 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 43, 25 Oct 87 p 13

[Vladimir Shevelev article: "What Happened to Vladimir P. (A Letter With Comments)"]

[Text] My son had a severe case of peritonitis nine years ago, he had several operations and spent a long time in various hospitals. It is for this reason perhaps that he takes to heart other people's misfortunes and pains. He made up his mind to become a medic and is now a medical school student.

On September 27 Volodya came to the US Embassy in Moscow and asked the militiaman on duty to pass on a written message to the American consul. I have no idea what was in the message. From the first incoherent account of my son after he came back three days later I gathered that he wanted to set up a Soviet-American friendship society of medics.

The militia officers took the letter and Volodya to the militia precinct No. 11. He was told it was necessary to establish if he was a tramp or not. Volodya answered all their questions, gave his home address, the name of his school, but they did not believe him. The boy who turned 16 the other day was questioned in such a way that every error he made, even insignificant, was held against him. For instance, asked about the date of his mother's birthday he said he did not know (we never mark the day in the family). Then he was asked to write his surname several times. On his second attempt he made a mistake in confusion and agitation. As a result of this "investigation" my son ended up in a psychiatric hospital.

I had no idea of my son's where-abouts. I stayed around the clock in my neighbourhood militia precinct ringing up the city hospitals and morgues. Incidentally, the precinct staff were very helpful and sympathetic. I only found out where my son was the next day. But when I rushed to the clinic they refused to let Volodya out. His doctor, Galina Torba, explained: "Once he has been brought here, we must examine him."

Volodya stayed nearly three days in a ward together with mental patients. The things we both went through during those three terrible days!

Volodya is back home now. He is recovering with difficulty from the traumatic experience. I would like to know what those people who treated Volodya so badly think and feel. Moscow Region

Tatyana P.

We talked to Vladimir P. (We are not giving his and his mother's surname for obvious reasons, while the names of other persons involved are real).

"Do you remember what you wrote in your message?"

"Of course I do. I wrote: 'Dear Mr Consul,

'Please grant me an entry visa to the USA so that I can find out how medical colleges operate and found a joint Soviet-American group of students. Please grant me this unique opportunity. I believe this would contribute to humanitarian contacts between our nations. Thank you.' I signed the message."

"What was your intention?"

"I thought it would be useful if the Americans knew about the peaceful intention of the Soviet people. I also wanted to see how American medical students study."

"You were taken to the militia precinct?"

"Yes. They asked for my address. I gave it. They made a phone call and said I was fooling them, but the address was correct. In an hour or so a doctor and two orderlies arrived. The doctor talked to me 10 or 15 minutes and said he had to refer me to a professor and I was driven to the hospital."

Volodya is a tall and broad-shouldered guy who wears size 44 shoes. On first seeing him you think he is an adult. When you talk to him you can see he is just a boy. Curiously enough, people who know Volodya well tried to show they were objective talking to me saying they did not excuse Volodya. They said he was frequently ill and thus out of touch with kids of his age, devoured newspapers and magazines and knew nothing of real life. I at first nodded my agreement and yessed them but then I thought: what should one be so apologetic about? Why should we so stubbornly go on about foolishness and infantilism? Volodya watched "The World and Youth" program to see boys and girls his age picket missile bases, challenge naval ships in their frail boats, carry posters saying "Stop Chattering! Do Something for Peace!" He watched enthusiastic meetings between Soviet youth and youth in other countries on TV bridges. He increasingly hears that relations between countries are becoming less directed by select individuals and that people's diplomacy is on the way in. It's no wonder the young and romantic man is stirred by all that.

What makes me wonder is a different thing.

The increased alertness and watchfulness of the militia officers guarding the Embassy is not without reason. Take for example the comparatively recent tragic episode with this Embassy in Moscow. The unknown person brought into the Embassy building by one of the diplomats proved to be mentally disturbed. He was carrying a bomb on him which he detonated exposing to fatal danger the American Embassy staff and the Soviet personnel called for help. Vladimir's behaviour could make them think of that incident. The youngster reportedly showed signs of uneasiness typical of sickly people or those who try to conceal something. The militiaman asked him for his identity papers. He carried none. His hesitant answers to questions made the militiaman wonder if the boy was all right. To make sure he called the psychiatric service station.

Psychiatry is undoubtedly one of the most intricate branches of practical medicine. Those who practice it sometimes have no margin for error of judgement. The failure to diagnose a mental case may entail tragedy, victims and possible catastrophic consequences. But another danger consists in hastily proclaiming an overexcited person a public menace.

The Instruction of the USSR Ministry of Public Health of 1971 lists cases when persons showing signs of mental disorder should be rushed to hospital: when someone attempts suicide; is aggressive to other people, is in a state of delirium. Aleksandr Sivov, psychiatrist on duty who was called to Militia Precinct No. 11, took the formal line of action: His examination was cursory with lots of rough conclusions. The psychiatrist's account of his conversation with Volodya contained specially selected words which, taken out of context, could confirm the doctor's opinion that Volodya was in a state of delirium.

A. Sivov maintains that he talked the youngster into going to hospital. Volodya did agree to go, but in the belief that the doctor was taking him for a consultation, and that he would be let home after one more doctor had seen him. Instead, the boy found himself in a sick ward. This was done in line with what Sivov wrote in the admission entry No. 18607: "In connection with the absurd behaviour and absurd explanation of his action." Today Sivov insists that he only meant well, was concerned about the boy's health, etc.

They soon began doubting at Clinic No. 15 that the patient should be there, but to no avail.

Liliya Zhuravleva, assistant to the head physician:

"I suggested that Volodya be discharged at once. There were no grounds to keep the boy in the clinic. But his mother did not turn up. She had not been told? That's strange. We usually let them know."

Stranger still is the fact that the doctors and nurses at the admission and sick wards make it appear they did not hear Volodya asking them to phone his mother. His mother had no way of turning up, knowing nothing of what had happened to her son and his whereabouts.

I asked:

"Why keep him for three days if he'd got in the clinic clearly by accident?"

Galina Torba, doctor in charge of Volodya:

"To discharge immediately? What about his case record? It's no simple matter, it takes more than one day..."

Talking to the physicians in charge of Volodya I sadly concluded that they did not care much for how the boy and his mother felt. They cared very much for a different thing: how to avoid possible trouble. So they blamed all the violations (they were there, alas) on the dragged out maintenance work at the clinic, the mother's negligence (!), the complexity of paperwork at medical institutions, inadequacy of instructions...

There is a clear-cut instruction: patients admitted to hospital on an urgent basis should be examined urgently - within twenty-four hours - by a team of three psychiatrists who can only decide if the patient needs hospital treatment. This requirement, which upholds the rights of patients and is a safeguard against arbitrariness, was ignored in Volodya's case.

Some of the doctors spoke about the above rule with annoyance. Head of section 16 Vitaliy Ilyunin, for example, said in a fit of temper:

"He was examined by two doctors on Sunday. One doctor examined him at the militia station, the other at the admittance ward. Is that not sufficient?"

"Why couldn't Volodya phone home?"

"He didn't want to, perhaps..."

Let's see the records in the clinic's logbook. The page marked September 27 has a record against Volodya's name: "Asked for permission to phone home. Signature - Nadezhda Barkhanova, nurse on duty."

Checkups on what Tatyana P. wrote in her letter have shown that everything she wrote is true. I became convinced again that the fact that the operation of our psychiatric service has not been publicly discussed (allegedly because of the subject's delicacy) for a long time in the past has not improved the situation. Secrecy has bred incompetence, formalism and indifference to people.

Editors' comments: [subhead]

One can only imagine the hullabaloo this publication may raise in the West. Some may see in it proof of all kind of "reports" on "putting normal people into Soviet psychiatric hospitals". However, the above incident is proof that Soviet law strictly defines conditions under which citizens can be forced to take treatment at psychiatric institutions. The law protects the rights of citizens. If the law is violated, it is for one reason alone: we still have people who are not in the habit of observing laws, who have no regard for their fellow citizens' rights, who are not aware of such a thing as civic duty and perform their duties with an indifference typical of a robot.

We can and must speak of this kind of people openly and without mincing words. Each of them in their positions granted by society form the braking mechanism which prevents our society from moving on to where there is more socialism, more democracy.

We shall reach this objective only after we have shaken off those who are holding us back. That we are shaking them off is seen in the turn the Vladimir P. story has taken.

While this issue was in preparation chief psychiatrist of Moscow Vladimir Tikhonenko told us that the incident had been thoroughly investigated. The putting of Vladimir P. into clinic was found groundless and many different violations were discovered in this case. Several members of the medical staff at the clinic were severely reprimanded. Aleksandr Sivov was sacked from the ambulance service. This swift reaction is a good sign of the current process of renewal.

Critic, Historian on Reassessing 1917

PM301320 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Oct 87 p 8

[Dialogue between LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Aleksandr Yegorov and Doctor of Historical Sciences Vladlen Loginov: "Beginning With October"]

[Text] A. Yegorov: In our childhood it so happened that there was a sharp divergence between the schoolbooks and the cinema. We used to tear out of the textbooks, or ink over, the pictures of "enemies of the people." I remember how I was teased mercilessly because I had the same name as Marshal Yegorov. I had to argue that, no, it was no relation, that in our family "everything is in order." It was only during the war that I learned that my grandfather was dispossessed as a kulak in 1929.

But at the movies, our hearts could rejoice. On the screen were living heroes, played by everyone's favorite actors. On the screen was Vladimir Ilich, inseparable from Shchukin's charm. How we loved him!

And on the screen there was the real October. Seamen and workers storming the Winter Palace. The doomed cadets, the "battalion of old women," the toy soldier Kerenskiy.

V. Loginov: Our childhoods were rather different. I grew up in a family and a milieu of old Bolsheviks. In 1937 the milieu began to dwindle dramatically...

But I can confirm your impressions: The cinema existed alongside the arrests, and even, so to speak, regardless of them. Lenin was on the screen. October was on the screen.

It was only after studying party history professionally that I realized that those movies also contained untruths—the same as in the textbooks. The outlines of the "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Short course" ["Istoriya VKP (b). Kratkiy Kurs"] dictated a political concept to the artists, and that in turn dictated the choice of actors and the whole atmosphere of the movie.

A. Yegorov: Shall we begin with October?

V. Loginov: Yes, of course, all our beginnings converged on 25 October 1917.

If we are to talk about the problems now knocking at the doors of historical science and of our common revolutionary understanding of the world, I would define the first of these problems thus: What was the alternative to the victory of October?

If you look at all our movies, from the very first to the latest, this is the picture that emerges. On one side were the Bolsheviks, with the masses behind them. And on the other side, Kerenskiy, with a handful of cadets and soldiers, and that whole company of Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. That is the concept based on the "Short Course."

But how was it in reality?

Lenin once said that there is the main opponent and the immediate one. Until 1917 the main opponent was czarism, autocracy, and after February the main opponent was the bourgeoisie. And then there was the immediate opponent—the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries.

A characteristic of Stalin's approach was that he regarded the immediate opponent as the main opponent. He always believed that the main opponent was the compromisers, and still more the traitors and renegades in your own ranks. So we see on the screen these "opponents"—the Mensheviks with their little goatee beards and their pince-nez perpetually falling off.

A. Yegorov: Sergey Eisenstein did this brilliantly for the first time in his "October." There is a Menshevik just like that. He is blathering on, and he is intercut with shots of a strumming balalaika. The image became imprinted on our memorires forever, and defined our attitude to the Mensheviks. Later it was repeated in dozens of movies.

V. Loginov: Exactly. They show us people who are absolutely incapable of any real action, capable only of talking. Yet among them there were fine organizers and orators who could captivate you with their thinking.

A. Yegorov: I want to introduce a third participant into the dialogue. It is Mikhail Shatrov, with his new play "On... and on... and on" ["Dalshe... dalshe... dalshe"]. It is a play about October, and could not be more relevant in our conversation.

So, the Mensheviks. Let us introduce to the reader one of their leaders—Georgiy Valentinovich Plekhanov. Organizer of the first Russian Marxist group, "Liberation of Labor," and one of the leaders of Menshevism. And what an orator! I quote Shatrov's play, from the working manuscript:

"Plekhanov (to Lenin): I want to talk to you in my capacity as the first teacher of Russian social democracy...

"...We are socialists! We differ from you on the means and methods of carrying out the idea, but the idea is the same! And any tragedy of yours is our tragedy too, and vice versa! Anyone who does not regard another's trouble as his own is no socialist!

"...Savinkov will come to me tomorrow and ask me, as the most authoritative socialist, to head a new government which will destroy the power of the Soviet of People's Commissars by fire and the sword. And you know what I will say to him: 'I have not given 40 years of my life to the working class so as to shoot them the minute they make a mistake!'"

A. Yegorov: So there's a Menshevik for you. "The enemy"?! "Empty talker"?!

V. Loginov: But we lumped them all together. Plekhanov, Martov, Kerenskiy (a real blatherer), and Spiridonova, a naturally gifted organizer and leader. But when the opponent is the "vaudevillian Kerenskiy," then victory over him does you no great honor.

It was another matter when we had as the real opponent the flower of the czarist generals, with the bourgeoisie, headed by the cadets' party, behind them. And all these generals, who turn up later in the Civil War, they did not suddenly appear like jinns out of a bottle. Back in March-April 1917 they are already figuring in the action. Kolchak, Denikin, Kaledin, Dutov, Alekseyev. Careful selection of a military dictator is taking place.

The principle whereby the choice is made is curious. The whole of world practice confirms that a dictator should meet certain criteria. Take any one you like: from Hitler to Pinochet—each has his "democratic legend." The same was true in 1917.

Why did they choose Kornilov? A legend was created that he sprang from among the ordinary people. A democrat! He is not a party man, that is, he does not express the interests of any one class, he expresses the interests of the nation. He is a "servant to the czar, a father to the soldiers." They concealed the first part of the formula and emphasized the second. How "ordinary" he is with soldiers!

A. Yegorov: Some kind of Suvorov? "Give me a spoon, and I'll go and eat kasha with the men from Fanagoriskoye"?

V. Loginov: Exactly. Kornilov had a clear, practical platform: militarization of the economy. Work at plants and on the railroads is equated to military service. With field courts-martial. And the death penalty. Kornilov said: Our mistake was that we wanted to take power first, and then hang people. We should have hanged people first, and then taken power. A terrible figure.

A. Yegorov: Distressing as it is, let us listen to him some more: in order to understand who and what was the alternative to October.

Let me quote the play "On... and on... and on." Kornilov is in company with his "soul-mates": Markov (one of the founders of the White Guard) and Denikin. "Markov: ...The whole trouble was the abolition of serfdom.

"...Put together all the bad work begun by the Decembrists and continued by Vissarion... Herzen... and all kinds of Mikhaylovskiys... Uspenskiys... Shchedrins and Klyuchevskiys—who can measure their ruinous contribution?

"Kornilov: ...What we need is a well-ordered system of military dictatorship, guaranteeing that the rivers go back within their banks. I'm not fond of making jokes... And if it is unfortunately necessary to set fire to half of Russia and cover three-fourths of it in blood... that was not our choice."

And it goes on—about those who must be killed when the military dictatorship wins.

"Kornilov: This whole left-wing, so-called revolutionary democracy—there's no question about it. The country will greet it with understanding. I set another task—we must cause a state of shock, paralysis, so that none of the scum can raise their heads. Understand—shock! Will we achieve that by putting Lenin up against the wall with some worker or other? Never. But if the Rodzyankos, the Struves, and the Berdyayevs are found swinging from lampposts...

"Markov: Don't forget Kerenskiy!

"Denikin: But Struve—that's too much.

"Kornilov: Too much is nothing to worry about, Anton Ivanovich, what we need to worry about is too little. We will only paralyze all that crew if we cast our nets wide enough. I'm not fond of making jokes. All this thinking, talking, demanding crew—all our troubles come from them!—they must be curbed! A convulsion will run through Russia—it will mean we've won."

A. Yegorov: So that is the alternative that was a real threat to Russia in October 1917! Those are the people who were eager for power.

To be honest, we have yet to see much that is close to this picture on our screens.

V. Loginov: A second problem that has to be considered and worked on today is the problem of the people in October.

Telling the people the truth today means telling the truth about the people, too. And the truth about the people in 1917 is complex. Very complex. They were a comparatively dark, politically underdeveloped mass. A mass still retaining the servile habit of subordination.

A. Yegorov: In this respect, in our cinema, Shadrin is very interesting, the character in "The Man With the Gun" ["Chelovek s Ruzhyem"] by Nikolay Pogodin, Sergey Yutkevich, and the actor Boris Tenin. Shadrin is a trench warfare soldier, a man already educated by warfare. But at the same time he is a peasant too, and quails every time the landowner or general shouts. True, the proportion of soldier to peasant is dynamic, changeable, and fragile.

V. Loginov: Of course, the revolution infused tremendous educational spirit into the people's consciousness. Lenin said that revolution drags small-minded people out of their remote corners and makes citizens of them. But all the same, the past was still engrained in their brains. And reaction—the Kornilovs and their ilk—took advantage of this. The main form of propaganda was Black Hundreds propaganda: "They sold Russia to the Germans," "they sold out to the International," and so forth. It is stupid to say that this propaganda had no success. It did have success. It led to great vacillations among the peasants and soldiers.

A. Yegorov: In the end it created and cemented the Whites in the Civil War. Let us not forget that after Perekop, after the Bolsheviks' final victory, 2 million Russians (not only Russians, of course) rushed abroad, into bitter exile. That is a tragedy that our movies and our art in general have not yet really touched on. Except, perhaps, for Aleksey Tolstoy's stories in the twenties and Bulgakov's "Flight" ["Beg"]. But even they bemoan the fate of the intelligentsia (military and humanist) in exile. The story of the ordinary White soldier has yet to be told.

V. Loginov: I think the best work about all this is Mikhail Sholokhov's "And Quiet Flows the Don." An immortal book. And as for the tragedy of the intellectual in the revolution and the quest for a way out, Aleksey Tolstoy wrote splendidly about it in "The Road to Calvary" ["Khozhdeniye po Mukam"]. I would rank alongside this (or even higher) Vikentiy Veresayev's novel "Impasse" ["V Tupike"]. Published in the twenties, it deserves to live today.

A. Yegorov: Well, I would also mention here Boris Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago."

V. Loginov: Of course, of course. But you know, there is a tendency to go overboard about the sufferings of the intellectual. Roshchin, Veresayev's heroes, Yuriy Andreyevich Zhivago. Yet from among the people—only the tragic Grigoriy Melekhov.

A. Yegorov: Yes, the ratio... Here the duty of the movies, the duty of art, is very great. The ordinary person must be shown not only in the revolution, but in the counterrevolution too... His tragedy.

V. Loginov: But that is for another conversation.

The third problem that should be studied is: What happened in 1917 in the camp of the revolution itself, among the Bolsheviks? On our side of the barricades.

How does it look in the movies, and in our arts and literature in general?

There is Lenin, putting forward the idea of socialist revolution in the April theses. There is the vast mass of workers who immediately and without reservation accept his view. There is the party, which also accepts the slogan of revolution without reservation. And there is the pitiful handful of renegades in the shape of Kamenev and Zinovyev, who keep putting spokes in the wheels of the revolution.

A. Yegorov: Very simple...

V. Loginov: ...But without taste! Without a taste for real history, for the true facts.

Let me observe that it would be an excellent thing if we based everything on the testimonies of eyewitnesses and participants in the events (on both sides of the barricades). Things are complicated by the fact that the most valuable and interesting testimonies are those published in the twenties. Later reminiscences sometimes began to juggle with the facts, to suit this or that historical personage. First and foremost to suit Stalin, who wanted to stand alongside Lenin and be the second leader of October.

So now, taking all this into account, let us turn to April.

Suffice it to say that when Lenin returned from exile and when his April theses were discussed at the Petrograd committee session—prior to the April conference—they were rejected by an overwhelming majority of votes. And in September, the Central Committee adopted a decision to burn Lenin's letters about the uprising—"Marxism and the Rising," "Will the Bolsheviks Hold on to State Power?" To burn all copies of the letters, leaving only one. By a majority of votes.

It is necessary to know and understand all this. Lenin himself said that when major changes take place in history, some of the revolutionaries—absolutely sincerely—still think in the old way and are unable to comprehend the new reality.

But now let us recall that among the Bolsheviks, among the party people there was no "devout" piety toward Lenin. For instance, some people, on encountering the novelty of the April theses, even said that the Old Man, in his enforced exile, had "stagnated" and lost touch with what is happening in Russia. He should be put right, he should be shown.

But Lenin managed to break through all this. To change the majority's minds.

A. Yegorov: What a strikingly rich picture—compared with the outlines taken from the "Short Course..."

V. Loginov: And that's not all! History (as if for the benefit of movie makers) has painted this picture in all the psychological colors!

There were complex relationships among the Bolsheviks. Lenin assessed his comrades' hesitations, doubts, and mistakes in a completely different way from the way that Stalin did later. Lenin assessed them in the context of normal debate about what nobody had yet victoriously accomplished in history—debate about the revolution and proletarian power.

We historians first of all, and after us the artists, are still depicting the behavior of, say, Kamenev as some kind of pernicious, deliberate line of thwarting the revolution, of treason to the revolution. But here, for instance, is food for thought. A debate about the April theses is in progress in April. A fierce debate. Kamenev is struggling desperately against Lenin, against his slogan of revolution. The April conference begins—the debate continues. Kamenev is stubborn. On the last day are the elections to the Central Committee. Who nominates Kamenev for the Central Committee? Lenin. Lenin nominates one of his fiercest opponents. And when one of the delegates says that the people on the Central Committee should be crystal pure, and Kamenev, with his mistakes, his behavior, and so forth is not worthy to be a Central Committee member, Lenin takes the floor. He says that our differences, our disputes with Kamenev are very useful for the party. Kamenev is not expressing his own personal view, it is not a weakness in his consciousness. It is a view that exists among the masses themselves.

And Kamenev—thanks to Lenin's support—easily got into the Central Committee on the vote. (It is hard to explain why the whole story of the polemics over Kamenev did not find its way into Lenin's works. It was decided that this was in some way... inconvenient, or something... The episode is published in full in the transcripts of the April conference.)

In general, let us remember this thought of Lenin's: Anyone who reduces the political struggle to the vice of some people and the virtue of others is simply a cheat.

That is how relationships were within the party.

A. Yegorov: I return to the third, "shadow" participant in our dialogue—Mikhail Shatrov. Let us read an extract from his play "The Brest Peace," published in issue No. 4 of *Novyy Mir*:

"Bukharin: Vladimir Ilich, compromise still has a moral price... It is an immorality that eats into the soul. Whatever you may say about it, it is immoral to abandon the Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and Finns in trouble. It is immoral to buy our own life with their grief.

"Lenin: You are right: The grief of the Ukrainians, Finns, and Latvians is on one side of the scales. And on the other? Answer me, you guardian of morality! Bloody carnage! The deaths of hundreds of thousands of Russian workers and peasants, who are powerless now to conquer the well oiled German war machine. Are you familiar with that moral concept, responsibility for the fate of millions? Do you know what the burden of power is? It means always being a political realist... It means always being alien to emotional games, however much you may want to send them all to the devil sometimes!.. It means always calculating and calculating—after all, the fate of millions of people is in your hands...

"Bukharin: But I cannot vote in favor of the gallows for my comrades!

"Lenin: And I can? And I can?

"Bukharin: But couldn't we manage in some other way... without flouting our principles?.. Can't we keep out of the dirt somehow? (He groans.)"

These were tragic individuals...

V. Loginov: The stereotype from the "Short Course" dominates us: If someone enters into a dispute with Lenin or defends a position that differs from Lenin's, he must be a scoundrel, who is seen in the last sequence receiving money from foreign envoys.

A. Yegorov: As happened in the movie "Lenin in 1918" by Aleksey Kapler and Mikhail Romm. After the 20th CPSU Congress, in 1960, Mikhail Ilich cut the particularly dogmatic sections out of his movie. He removed, for instance, the whole line on Bukharin's "plot" against Lenin.

V. Loginov: But the power of the stereotype remained. Many people never tasted Romm's torments.

There were, of course, new things too. There was the movie "The Sixth of July" (Mikhail Shatrov and Yuliy Karasik). It tried to tell the whole truth about the left Socialist Revolutionary rising—with no plots, foreign envoys, or anything else. The movie was not shown on television for 20 years. Finally they showed it.

But then what? Only recently, they also showed on television—what was it called?—"Battle at the Crossroads" ["Boy na Perekrestke"]? And the movie begins with Lockhart organizing a conspiracy of the left Socialist Revolutionaries. Once again, it is the logic of 1937—it is still entrenched in people's minds! Nobody wants to go into the complexities of the problems that faced the country and the party at that period—very complex, dramatic problems.

A. Yegorov: But complexity and drama are what art needs! It could probably be said that we are on the eve of a true discovery of the scope of the revolution. Of all its dramas and tragedies, all the victories and falls, all the wisdom and foolishness (Lenin said that more foolishness takes place during revolution than in peacetime). Things must be called by their names.

V. Loginov: We have not spoken about Lenin's opponents in October.

When Martov, Plekhanov, and Rosa Luxemburg expressed their fears and terrible predictions about the fate of the revolution—there were grounds for it!

A. Yegorov: Let us quote Rosa Luxemburg. Herprophesy in an unfinished manuscript on the Russian Revolution, written in prison.

"The Bolsheviks, in accomplishing a revolution, were the first of us to become men of action, and thereby saved the honor of international socialism. Thank God that they found the courage to spit on the dogmatism of their Mensheviks and our dull-witted heirs of Marx, who robbed Russia of the right to proletarian revolution by virtue of its backwardness. Thank God, finally, that there were people among us who showed the whole world that they prefer not congresses, meetings, reports, and essays on revolution, but revolution itself!

"Of course, as a fanatic supporter of democracy, I was shocked by them, but I always sought and found extenuating circumstances. They were more than right to use the iron fist to suppress all resistance, but these measures should not become the general rule in the long term.

"But of course, if political life in the country is stifled, the soviets cannot avoid progressive paralysis too. Without general elections, freedom of the press and of assembly, and freedom of opinion, in any social institution life is extinguished and becomes only a semblance, while the sole active constituent of that life is bureaucracy." (Translated from the German.)

It seems to me that these words, this warning are even more relevant in 1987 than in 1918.

V. Loginov: The revolution must constantly return to its sources, its origins. That is where the potential that was embodied in the revolution has its roots. But there too is the potential that was deliberately cast aside.

A. Yegorov: Or abandoned.

V. Loginov: Also true. Our revolution did not succeed in implementing a program of broad democracy. But Lenin and his comrades, in 1921, 1922, and 1923, were thinking and working in precisely that direction.

A. Yegorov: You only have to read the whole cycle of Lenin's last works, beginning with the "Letter to the Congress."

V. Loginov: The beloved Volume 45. Everyone needs it today.

A. Yegorov: But let us come back to art...

Let us repeat yet again: The movies, theater, and literature are only just beginning to cover the real scope of the revolution. Not much has been done yet.

We can look to Nikolay Pogodin's recent play, "The Third Pathetique" ["Tretya Pateticheskaya"], and remember Aleksandr Shteyn's "Between Downpours" ["Mezhdu Livnyami"].

V. Loginov: Emmanuil Kazakevich's "Blue Notebook" ["Sinyaya Tetrad"].

A. Yegorov: One should mention Mikhail Shatrov's cycle: "The Sixth of July," "Bolsheviks," "Blue Horses on Red Grass" ["Siniye Koni na Krasnoy Trave"], "Thus We Will Win!", and "The Brest Peace." We should also mention the television series "V.I. Lenin: Pages From a Life" (Viktor Lisakovich, Yegor Yakovlev, author of the first programs, Aleksandr Novogrudskiy, author of the later ones, and Nikolay Gubenko in the role of "after Lenin").

V. Loginov: But—what next, and next, and next?

A. Yegorov: Let us wait and see. Perhaps some unknowns are already dipping their pens in the ink.

Economic

Shevardnadze on Decentralizing Economic Ties

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[Speech by USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs E.A. Shevardnadze at a Meeting of USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Workers' Aktiv on 4 Jul 87: "An Unconditional Requirement—Turn to Face the Economy"]

[Text] Very crucial and difficult times are beginning for all of us. I want to begin the discussion with the memorable words of M.S. Gorbachev from his concluding speech at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 26 Jun 87 that restructuring is the chief topic of our life.

You and I must also fulfill this directive, and for that it is essential to understand and know how to act in the difficult starting period of fulfilling the directives of the party Central Committee Plenum.

At the end of the Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev addressed its participants, each departing to their republics, krays, oblasts, cities, rayons and enterprises. Without specifically naming our representatives abroad, he was also addressing you. I want to remind you of his words that "our economic work and the restructuring of the national economy can be successful only in the event that they attract the mass of millions of workers. It can thus be said that the policy of radical restructuring of management here is in essence joined with the policy of further democratization, not only in production, but in all of social life. Economic progress and the development of socialist democracy are indivisible."

Thus, in the words of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the resolutions of the January (1987) Plenum are organically linked with the resolutions of the June Plenum. The strategic integrity of the consistent steps of party leadership on the path of restructuring appears in all of its fullness. And I want to emphasize herein that the entire period since the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has had decisive significance for society and the people, since it has morally, politically and psychologically prepared them and has brought all of society into the basic restructuring of the most sensitive spheres that touch most powerfully on the interests of millions and millions of people and that is now being expanded after the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The June Plenum and M.S. Gorbachev's report at it have engendered new realities in the life of our society that already in the not-so-distant future will have a most immediate effect on our activity. They will, moreover, create processes and mechanisms, regardless of our will and desires, such as the foreign-economic and foreign-political services never before dealt with over their entire history.

In particular, whereas earlier the foreign-economic activity of the state was clearly centralized and implemented exclusively by central departments, today, as you well know, enterprises and associations—the basic links of our economy—are obtaining direct access to foreign markets and the right to create their own foreign-trade firms etc.

I foresee the question: has the enterprise or the association become the subject of foreign-trade and foreign-economic activity, and what will happen to the already extant form? Practice always poses difficult but honest questions, and they must be answered honestly, since we have finally understood that business reputation is measured largely on the scale of the economy.

In my opinion, no one is yet forecasting the rapid breakdown or restructuring of the extant foreign apparatus of trade and economic collaboration. It will continue to operate for a certain period of time. But the radical and profound restructuring of domestic economic life based on the growing independence of enterprises, the priority of purely economic methods over administrative ones, realistic price formation and other elements of a new mechanism still little-known to our national economy inevitably leads to the re-creation of the foreign-economic system and the foreign-economic scheme on a fundamentally new foundation.

What it will be like, at least in its principal parameters, can not yet be foretold by anyone, comrades. Perhaps, in formulating the purpose of this conference, I would select namely this conscious fixation of a quite obvious reality: there is still no final decision on this account. No, because it is formulated as the result of the establishment of the new internal mechanism of economic operation, and as the result of its functioning.

This link has not been neglected in the structure of the economic reforms adopted, but it must be built up further, substantiated both theoretically and in practice. I propose that our embassies and trade and economic missions abroad can render invaluable assistance to the country's leadership in this matter.

There are two conclusions from this: the first is that there is no turning back, we must move forward, however difficult the way; the second is that we must be ready for the fact that the transitional period will abound in difficulties, ambiguities and questions on which combined efforts will be needed to answer. But such a goal is too modest and meager for our meeting today. We have priorities and points of reference that we must be guided by in order to pass through the transitional period, as M.S. Gorbachev said, as fast as possible and with the fewest losses. We should discuss these reference points and priorities.

We should also debate how, in our foreign-political work, we will take into account the purely economic realities of the reforms in national-economic management and with which of its political aspects we will be dealing.

The time has come, so to speak, to "economize" our foreign policy, if such an expression is permissible, since, until it is linked wholly with the economy, it will be unable to help in restructuring our domestic economy and society overall, which, in this manner, will be unable to participate on equal terms in the competitive political struggle for the attractiveness of our socio-economic development model.

The idea of the strengthening interdependence and interconnectedness of the world that is contained in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the congress is important for us.

In reality, if we face the truth, the division into socialist and capitalist systems of economics, with all of the extremely perceptible limitations for us, in no way signifies the absence of intercourse, mutual attraction and even mutual penetration. We were drawn into the world economic process long ago, and other of our friends have gone much further. Whether this is good or bad is a topic for another discussion. As for the immediate, topical issue for us, I would formulate it as follows: we should become a more organic part of the world economic system, and we can and are obliged to become so if we accept and assimilate the forms extant in it. No one is forcing us to forgo our ideals and principles or to reject the cornerstone principles of our politics thereby.

We are people of ideas, but the power of them should not be higher than considerations of common sense. Otherwise, in being completely subordinate to them, you lose much, including the ability to improve the economic position of your own country and, in that manner, to raise the extent of its political influence in the world.

The transition of restructuring into a new and even more active phase based on radical reform of economic management is perpetrating a genuine revolution in our thinking, and chiefly economic thinking, but as with any revolution, the demolition is occurring faster than the creation. I thus would not evaluate the requirement for universal economic education formulated by the CPSU

Central Committee General Secretary against old standards. There is, after all, the problem of internal adaptation to the new condition and the new rules. Decentralization in the realm of foreign trade, to put it bluntly, frightens those who are accustomed to working through too-obliging intermediaries.

I would thus take with me the directive of M.S. Gorbachev that "the country has an enormous personnel potential at its disposal, and we must help them become more profoundly aware of the novelty and scope of the current changes in the economy and be included in active work based on new principles of economic management, incorporating them everywhere at all levels of the economy."

This directive is to each of us, and I would underline the following words: "incorporating them everywhere at all levels of the economy." Everywhere means abroad as well, at all levels of the economy and, consequently, in foreign-economic levels as well.

I am not calling on the highest-ranking diplomats and their advisers to be retrained and change professions, so to speak. Turning our efforts and abilities to face the economy fully is, however, an unconditional requirement, a requirement of the party and the state.

You could say to me that the ambassadors are not separated from economic issues anyway, they are the ones engaged with them, and I agree. But I would note here that a qualitatively different and qualitatively new approach is essential that presupposes the elaboration of priorities, the rejection of stereotypes, an enhanced element of creativity and a readiness for the most unexpected turns. We would furthermore like to receive from you a more profound political and economic interpretation of the situation in the countries you visit, a more realistic evaluation of them and, of course, a summarization of practical experience.

But all of this will work only under one condition: if our representatives abroad present the sense of what is happening within our own country as clearly as possible, the radical distinction between what is being created and what was. This is a fundamental issue. And what is happening is the following:

—the freeing of enterprises and associations from excessive oversight from the center and their endowment with independence based on the principles of economic accountability [khozrashchet];

—the creation of a system of planning that does not form shortages, but rather facilitates the fact that the producer obtains the raw and other materials and equipment that he needs in unimpeded fashion;

—the reform of the price-formation system on principles of and with a regard for actual expenditures for the production of goods and items;

—the restructuring of material and technical supply with the rejection of strict centralized distribution in favor of wholesale-market operations;

—the formation of conditions where financing is linked with highly efficient production, credit facilitates growth in profits, and monetary circulation is free of painful inflationary processes and is expanded in markets that are highly saturated with goods and services;

—and, finally, improvement of the organizational structures of management to facilitate rather than impede the circulation of waves of "low-level" enterprise and initiative.

To the extent that the reforms and the affirmation of an integral system of economic management are confirmed step by step in our country and its boundaries are gradually widened, with their effect on foreign-economic collaboration, our foreign institutions and their executives will have to react to the political aspects of it with enhanced sensitivity.

The economic aspect of the matter is the most important one for us today. And a hierarchy of values, a system of priorities that should guide us in this work, is essential to us here.

First and foremost, they are the economic interests of our own country.

Next, the interests of the socialist community, the socialist countries and the socialist world.

Finally, the interests of the country you are in.

The constituent elements of this "triad" are interconnected, and dividing lines between them are made only for the purpose of practical analysis. They can scarcely be divided in life.

I feel it is essential to make one fundamental proviso. The question of weighing everything on the "money scale" does not arise and should not arise. Economics do not exist outside of politics—foreign or domestic. The choice of this or that economic solution in all countries, the more so in the socialist countries, is defined by social goals. It is defined in precisely the same way in foreign-policy goals. The question is how to consider these goals and know precisely how much a given specific version costs.

It is in no way necessary to proceed from the fact that relations with friends must be of a loss-producing nature. With the proper arrangement of affairs, they should also be based on economic accountability and self-support [samookupayemost]. But it is also understandable that a certain portion of our foreign-economic activity will be, so to speak, "subsidized," but just a certain portion.

In its day to day operations, comrades, the whole diplomatic apparatus cannot for a minute lose sight of the national-economic interests of the country and should constantly remember that the most important function of our foreign policy is to create the optimal conditions for the economic and social development of our country.

The processes transpiring abroad are especially noticeable to us, and shortcomings and omissions in our work are evident. Are we making full use of this potential? Are we illuminating our network of foreign missions precisely, specifically, competently and, most important, objectively about the events and processes that are transpiring in the world economy? Can we consider the "early-warning" and forecasting system to be fine-tuned? It seems that we cannot be fully satisfied here.

One must look far ahead in economics to be ready to take timely steps to protect our national economy from losses and serious upheavals. And the embassy is called upon to play the role of forward patrol that follows everything new in the realm of scientific and technical progress, everything that could be of interest to the national economy, not only now, but in the future as well.

We of course give priority in foreign-economic work and foreign-trade ties to the CEMA countries. A tight knot has formed here that we facilitated to no small extent at one time. There is a saying that "the people are guilty and the country answers for it." This is also the issue of the quite heavy legacy that has passed down to us. If someone in the past was guilty of deformations in the economic collaboration with the countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, then it is we that must answer for it and set matters right.

The specific nature of this matter is that three tasks in the economic relations with the fraternal countries must be resolved simultaneously and immediately: be occupied with current problems, develop prospects for collaboration for 15-20 years and implement the transition of interaction with them in the realm of economics, science and technology onto the rails of intensification while incorporating new forms that meet the requirements of it.

The transition to this new stage cannot be simplified. It will be a very complex and, I would say, painful process that must be considered in conjunction with the specific conditions.

It must be stated directly that Soviet ambassadors on the spot have in the past not always looked carefully into the work of our specialists—the designers and planners—and have not monitored them. As a result of this, decisions have frequently been made based on formalistic reports by directive organs regarding participation in creating facilities that were basically without prospects from an economic point of view.

The enormous scope of the impending changes in collaboration with the CEMA countries requires non-standard approaches where a healthy climate in the mutual relations between Soviet foreign representatives does not play the smallest role.

I would to say a few words about the new forms of economic interaction with the CEMA countries. I have in mind direct ties, the creation of joint enterprises, international collectives etc. New and promising sprouts are appearing. The June Plenum and the Supreme Soviet emphasized their important role in expanding and deepening the integrated base of the community through the active inclusion of enterprises, associations and planning and other organizations in it. A period of time that is both not great and yet not small has already passed since the incorporation of the new forms. And the results? One can speak only of the most modest of positive changes so far. In Bulgaria, for example, we visited a prototype of, so to speak, a good enterprise—the joint Bulgarian-Soviet Interprogramma Scientific Research Institute. It has already been in existence for ten years, and they have done a few things, as I said, not a little.

Some things have been done in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, where our embassies are displaying persistence, but even there our comrades are complaining of a multitude of bureaucratic obstacles.

The problem of reinforcing the economic foundation of our relations with Western countries is acute for us as before. The interests of the national economy require a harmonious system of large-scale long-term collaboration with these states.

The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee once more directed our attention to ties with firms in capitalist countries. The State Enterprise Law specially mentions the possibility of joint activity with Western companies. These are not just phrases, we must act here. The discussion concerns a form of foreign-economic ties with the West that is fundamentally new and promising for us.

We do not even notice some of what has been accumulated over past years. Very interesting experience has been accumulated in the economic collaboration with Great Britain that has taken shape over decades, and moreover without any particular state intervention and based on principles of cooperation. There is much in this experience that is interesting and could be put to use.

More than 250 proposals have already been received over a comparatively short time from firms in West Germany, Finland, Japan, Italy, the United States, Great Britain, France and other countries.

We are not striving for quantity here. We want to create at first just a small number of such enterprises that function well. This is very important. No small effort in preparing the technical and economic substantiation, calculating economic profitability, uncovering sources of supply and markets for selling and breaking through bureaucratic barriers on the way are required for this. Our embassies should devote most serious attention to this issue.

I cannot fail to mention that our work on global problems—the creation of a new and just economic order and the foundations of economic security—is still at the zero point.

We must obviously think seriously about how to set up harmonious contacts with science. There is another aspect to this as well. In the past, our missions did not trace a great deal of what was happening in foreign science. As a result, we have overlooked structural shifts in the economies of the developed—and not just the developed—industrial countries, major breakthroughs in technologies in very important areas of the scientific and technical revolution as well as our own lag in these areas.

Serious analytical information about how issues of export and import control are resolved in practice in this or that country, how the state stimulates its exports, how the foreign-currency control mechanism operates etc. would be very useful to us.

Many countries have long made use of cooperation, direct ties and and combined firms. There is both positive and negative experience. Timely prompting from ambassadors could save us from mistakes, miscalculations and incorrect decisions.

It is also necessary to prepare oneself for the fact that the transition to economic methods in collaboration will also provoke material changes in our trade patterns.

In summing up the results of this series of tasks, I would like to emphasize in particular that we can in no way permit economic restructuring to outstrip the understanding of this process in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or restructuring in the ministry to lag the changes occurring in society.

The leaders of the subdivisions in the central apparatus and the foreign missions along with all diplomatic colleagues should be aware of the fact that the party and the state, in allocating considerable funds for the conduct of foreign policy, expect that the political solution of important international problems will have great economic impact, have a favorable effect on the development of the national economy and free up the material, labor and financial resources that are so essential to the solution of domestic economic and social problems, and they are expecting a real economic return from the work of the ministry.

Such is the behest of the times, and the collective of the ministry should rise to the occasion at this intensive and deciding moment in the history of our state and our society.

I would like to conclude much speech by emphasizing the following.

The whole set of economic reforms is radically altering the nature of economic activity abroad. We must be ready for this and fundamentally restructure.

The reforms are entering a most difficult stage—the stage of practical matters. We await from you as many more practical proposals as possible along with a practical contribution to implementing the resolutions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

End